
ESSAYS ON CHAUCER,

His Words and Works.

PART IV.

XI. ON "HERE" AND "THERE" IN CHAUCER. By R. F. WEYMOUTH, Esq., D. LIT.

XII. Dr JOHN KOCH on 1. An original version of the "*Knight's Tale*." 2. The date and personages of the "*Parlament of Foules*." 3. "*Queene Anelida and the False Arcyte*." 4. a. Lollius. b. Chaucer, and Boccaccio's *Decamerone*.

Appendix. Prof. Scherk's Date of the Canterbury Journey, englisht from Herr Hertzberg's "*Canterbury-Geschichten*," 1866; with a note, showing why it's wrong, by Mr Skeat.

Palamon and Ersyte, a fragment from the Dublin University MS, D. 4. 18, No. 7.

The Chaucer Society.

Editor in Chief:—F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., 3, St George's Square, Primrose Hill, N.W.

Hon. Sec.:—W. A. DALZIEL, Esq., 9, Milner Street, Islington, London, N.

THE CHAUCER SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS.

To do honour to CHAUCER, and to let the lovers and students of him see how far the best unprinted Manuscripts of his works differ from the printed texts, this Society is founded. There are many questions of metre, pronunciation, orthography, and etymology yet to be settled, for which more prints of Manuscripts are wanted, and it is hardly too much to say that every line of Chaucer contains points that need reconsideration. The founder's proposal is to begin with *The Canterbury Tales*, and give of them (in parallel columns in Royal 4to) six of the best unprinted Manuscripts known. Inasmuch also as the parallel arrangement will necessitate the alteration of the places of certain tales in some of the MSS, a print of each MS will be issued separately, and will follow the order of its original. The first six MSS to be printed are the Ellesmere (by leave of the Earl of Ellesmere); the Hengwrt (by leave of W. W. E. Wynne, Esq.); the Cambridge Univ. Libr., MS Gg. 4. 27; the Corpus, Oxford; the Petworth (by leave of Lord Leconfield); and the Lansdowne 851 (Brit. Mus.).

Of Chaucer's Minor Poems,—the MSS of which are generally later than the best MSS of the *Canterbury Tales*,—all, or nearly all, the MSS will be printed, so as to secure all the existing evidence for the true text.

To secure the fidelity and uniform treatment of the texts, Mr F. J. Furnivall will read all with their MSS.

The Society's publications are issued in two Series, of which the first contains the different texts of Chaucer's works; and the Second, such originals of and essays on these as can be procured, with other illustrative treatises, and Supplementary Tales.

FIRST SERIES.

The Society's issue for **1868**, in the **First Series**, is,

I. The Prologue and Knight's Tale, of the *Canterbury Tales*, in 6 parallel Texts (from the 6 MSS named below), together with Tables, showing the Groups of the Tales, and their varying order in 38 MSS of the Tales, and in 5 old printed editions, and also Specimens from several MSS of the "Moveable Prologues" of the *Canterbury Tales*,—The Shipman's Prologue, and Franklin's Prologue,—when moved from their right places, and of the Substitutes for them. (The Six-Text, Part I.)

II. The Prologue and Knight's Tale from the Ellesmere MS.

III. " " " " " " " Hengwrt " 154

IV. " " " " " " " Cambridge " Gg. 4. 27

V. " " " " " " " Corpus " Oxford

VI. " " " " " " " Petworth "

VII. " " " " " " " Lansdowne " 851

(separate issues of the Texts forming Part I of the Six-Text edition.)

The issue for **1869**, in the **First Series**, is,

VIII. The Miller's, Reeve's, and Cook's Tales: Ellesmere MS.

IX. " " " " " " " Hengwrt "

X. " " " " " " " Cambridge "

XI. " " " " " " " Corpus "

XII. " " " " " " " Petworth "

XIII. " " " " " " " Lansdowne, "

(separate issues of the Texts forming the Six-Text, Part II, No. XIV.)

The issue for **1870**, in the **First Series**, is,

XIV. The Miller's, Reeve's, and Cook's Tales, with an Appendix of the Spurious Tale of Gamelyn, in 6 parallel Texts. (Six-Text, Part II.)

The issue for **1871**, in the **First Series**, is,

XV. The Man of Law's, Shipman's, and Prioress's Tales, with Chaucer's own Tale of Sir Thopas, in 6 parallel Texts from the MSS above named, and 10 coloured drawings of Tellers of Tales, after the originals in the Ellesmere MS.

XVI. The Man of Law's Tale, from the Ellesmere MS.

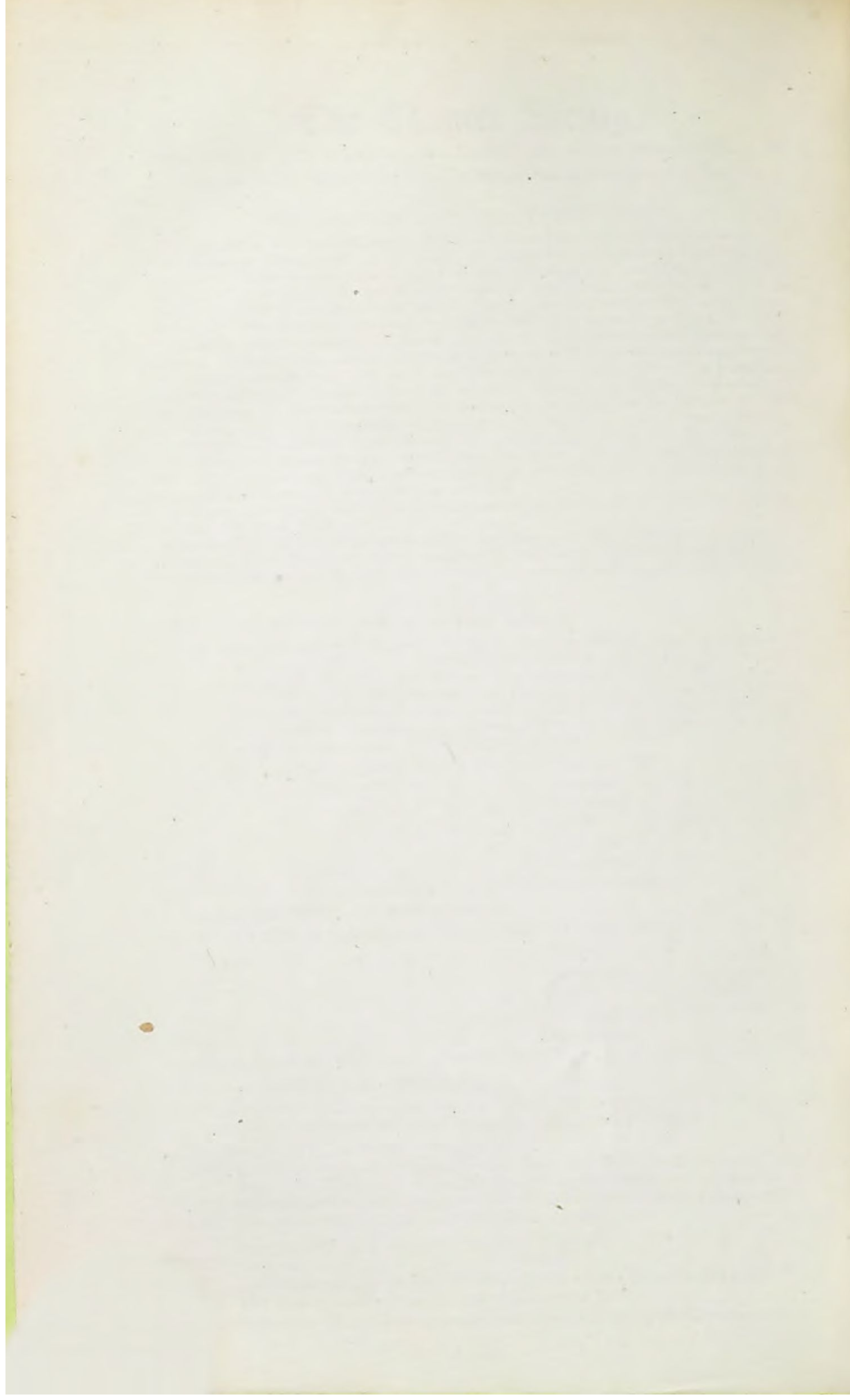
XVII. " " " " " " " Cambridge MS.

XVIII. " " " " " " " Corpus MS.

XIX. The Shipman's, Prioress's, and Man of Law's Tales, from the Petworth MS.

XX. The Man of Law's Tale, from the Lansdowne MS.

(each with woodcuts of fourteen drawings of Tellers of Tales in the Ellesmere MS.)



The Chaucer Society.

SECOND SERIES.

Of the **Second Series**, the issue for 1868 is,

1. Early English Pronunciation, with especial reference to Shakspeare and Chaucer, by Alexander J. Ellis, Esq., F.R.S. Part I. This work includes an amalgamation of Prof. F. J. Child's two Papers on the use of the final *-e* by Chaucer (in T. Wright's ed. of *The Canterbury Tales*) and by Gower (in Dr Pauli's ed. of the *Confessio Amantis*).

2. Essays on Chaucer, his Words and Works, Part I.: 1. Prof. Ebert's Review of Sandras's *Etude sur Chaucer*, translated by J. W. van Rees Hoets, M.A.; 2. A 13th-century Latin Treatise on the *Chilindre* (of the *Shipman's Tale*), edited by Mr E. Brock.

3. A Temporary Preface to the Society's Six-Text edition of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, Part I, attempting to show the right Order of the Tales, and the Days and Stages of the Pilgrimage, &c. &c., by F. J. Furnivall, Esq., M.A.

Of the **Second Series**, the issue for 1869 is,

4. Early English Pronunciation, with especial reference to Shakspeare and Chaucer, by Alexander J. Ellis, Esq., F.R.S. Part II.

Of the **Second Series**, the issue for 1870 is,

5. Early English Pronunciation, with especial reference to Shakspeare and Chaucer, by Alexander J. Ellis, Esq., F.R.S. Part III.

Of the **Second Series**, the issue for 1871 is,

6. Trial-Forewords to my Parallel-Text edition of Chaucer's *Minor Poems* for the Chaucer Society (with a try to set Chaucer's Works in their right order of Time), by Fredk. J. Furnivall. Part I. (This Part brings-out, for the first time, Chaucer's long early but hopeless love.)

Of the **Second Series**, the issue for 1872 is,

7. Originals and Analogues of some of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, Part I. 1. The original of the *Man of Law's Tale* of Constance, from the French Chronicle of Nicholas Trivet, Arundel MS 56, ab. 1340 A.D., collated with the later copy, ab. 1400, in the National Library at Stockholm; copied and edited, with a translation, by Mr Edmund Brock. 2. The Tale of "Merelaus the Emperor," from the Early-English version of the *Gesta Romanorum* in Harl. MS 7333; and 3. Part of Matthew Paris's *Vita Offic Primi*, both stories illustrating incidents in the *Man of Law's Tale*. 4. Two French Fabliaux like the *Reeve's Tale*. 5. Two Latin Stories like the *Friar's Tale*.

Of the **Second Series**, the issue for 1873 is,

8. Albertano of Brescia's *Liber Consilii et Consolationis*, A.D. 1246 (the Latin source of the French original of Chaucer's *Melibe*), edited from the MSS, by Dr Thor Sundby.

Of the **Second Series**, the issue for 1874 is,

9. Essays on Chaucer, his Words and Works, Part II.: 3. John of Hoveden's *Practica Chilindri*, edited from the MS, with a translation, by Mr E. Brock. 4. Chaucer's use of the final *-e*, by Joseph Payne, Esq. 5. Mrs E. Barrett-Browning on Chaucer: being those parts of her review of the *Book of the Poets*, 1842, which relate to him; here reprinted by leave of Mr Robert Browning. 6. Professor Bernhard Ten-Brink's critical edition of Chaucer's *Compleynte to Pite*.

Of the **Second Series**, the issue for 1875 is,

10. Originals and Analogues of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, Part II. 6. Alphon-sus of Lincoln, a Story like the *Prioress's Tale*. 7. How Reynard caught Chanticleer, the source of the *Nun's-Priest's Tale*. 8. Two Italian Stories, and a Latin one, like the *Pardoner's Tale*. 9. The Tale of the Priest's Bladder, a story like the *Summoner's Tale*, being 'Li dis de le Vescie a Prestre,' par Jakes de Basiw. 10. Petrarch's Latin Tale of Griseldis (with Boccaccio's Story from which it was re-told), the original of the *Clerk's Tale*. 11. Five Versions of a Pear-tree Story like that in the *Merchant's Tale*. 12. Four Versions of The Life of Saint Cecilia, the original of the *Second Nun's Tale*.

11. Early English Pronunciation, with especial reference to Shakspeare and Chaucer, by Alexander J. Ellis, Esq., F.R.S. Part IV.

12. Life-Records of Chaucer, Part I, The Robberies of Chaucer by Richard Brerelay and others at Westminster, and at Hatcham, Surrey, on Tuesday, Sept. 6, 1390, with some Account of the Robbers, from the Enrolments in the Public Record Office, by Walford D. Selby, Esq., of the Public Record Office.

13. Thynne's Animadversions (1599) on Speght's *Chaucers Workes*, re-edited from the unique MS, by Fredk. J. Furnivall, with fresh Lives of William and Francis Thynne, and the only known fragment of *The Pilgrims Tale*.

Of the **Second Series**, the issue for **1876** is,

14. Life-Records of Chaucer, Part II, The Household Ordinances of King Edward II, June 1323 (as englisht by Francis Tate in March 1601 A.D.), with extracts from those of King Edward IV, to show the probable duties of CHAUCER as Valet or Yeoman of the Chamber, and Esquire, to Edward III, of whose Household Book no MS is known; together with Chaucer's Oath as Controller of the Customs; and an enlargd Autotype of Hoccleve's Portrait of Chaucer; edited by F. J. Furnivall.

15. Originals and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, Part III. 13. The Story of Constance, for the *Man of Law's Tale*. 14. The Boy killd by a Jew for singing 'Gaude Maria,' an Analogue of the *Prioress's Tale*. 15. The Paris Beggar-boy murderd by a Jew for singing 'Alma redemptoris mater!' an Analogue of the *Prioress's Tale*; with a Poem by Lydgate.

16. *Essays on Chaucer, his Words and Works*, Part III. 7. Chaucer's Prioress, her Nun Chaplain and 3 Priests, illustrated from the Paper Survey of St Mary's Abbey, Winchester, by F. J. Furnivall. 8. Alliteration in Chaucer, by Dr Paul Lindner. 9. Chaucer a Wieliffite; a critical Examination of the *Parsons Tale*, by Herr Hugo Simon. 10. The sources of the Wife of Bath's Prologue: Chaucer not a borrower from John of Salisbury, by the Rev. W. W. Woollecombe.

17. Supplementary Canterbury Tales: 1. The Tale of *Beryn*, with a Prologue of the merry Adventure of the Pardoner with a Tapster at Canterbury, re-edited from the Duke of Northumberland's unique MS, by Fredk. J. Furnivall. Part I, the Text, with Wm. Smith's Map of Canterbury in 1588, now first engravd from his unique MS., and Ogilby's Plan of the Road from London to Canterbury in 1675.

Of the **Second Series**, the issue for **1878** (there was none in 1877) is,

18. *Essays on Chaucer, his Words and Works*, Part IV. 11. On *here* and *there* in Chaucer (his Pronunciation of the two *e*'s), by Dr R. F. Weymouth; 12. On α . An Original Version of the *Knight's Tale*; β . the Date (1381) and Personages of the *Parlament of Foules*; γ . on *Anelyda and Arcite*, on Lollius, on Chaucer, and Boccaccio, &c, by Dr John Koch, with a fragment of a later *Palamon and Ersyte* from the Dublin MS D. 4. 18.

Of the **Second Series**, the issue for **1879** will probably be,

Early English Pronunciation, with especial reference to Shakspeare and Chaucer, by Alexander J. Ellis, Esq., F.R.S. Part V.

New Shakspeare Society.

Director: F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., 3, St George's Square, London, N.W.

Hon. Sec.: A. G. SNELGROVE, Esq., London Hospital, London, E.

Bankers: The Alliance Bank, Bartholomew Lane, London, E.C.

Founded in 1873 to further the study of Shakspeare's works chronologically and as a whole, and to print Parallel and other Texts of the Quartos and Folio of Shakspeare's Plays, and other works illustrating Shakspeare's time and the History of the Drama. Subscription, which constitutes membership, One Guinea, to be paid to the Hon. Sec.

The Society has already issued 25 important publications in 4to and 8vo.

- XXI. A Parallel-Text edition of Chaucer's Minor Poems, Part I:—1. '*The Dethe of Blaunche the Duchesse*,' from Thynne's ed. of 1532, the Fairfax MS 16, and Tanner MS 346; 2. '*the Complaynt to Pite*,' 3. '*the Parliament of Foules*,' and 4. '*the Complaynt of Mars*,' each from six MSS.
- XXII. Supplementary Parallel-Texts of Chaucer's Minor Poems, Part I, containing 1. '*The Parliament of Foules*,' from three MSS.
- XXIII. Odd Texts of Chaucer's Minor Poems, Part I, containing 1. two MS fragments of '*The Parliament of Foules*;' 2. the two differing versions of '*The Prologue to the Legende of Good Women*,' arranged so as to show their differences; 3. an Appendix of Poems attributed to Chaucer, 1. '*The Balade of Pitee by Chauciers*;' II. '*The Cronycle made by Chaucer*,' both from MSS written by Shirley, Chaucer's contemporary.
- XXIV. A One-Text Print of Chaucer's Minor Poems, being the best Text from the Parallel-Text Edition, Part I, containing, I. *The Dethe of Blaunche the Duchesse*, II. *The Complaynt to Pite*, III. *The Parliament of Foules*, IV. *The Complaynt of Mars*, V. *The ABC*, with its original from De DeGuileville's *Pèlerinage de la Vie humaine* (edited from the best Paris MSS by M. Paul Meyer).

The issue for 1872, in the **First Series**, is,

- XXV. Chaucer's Tale of Melibe, the Monk's, Nun's-Priest's, Doctor's, Pardoner's, Wife of Bath's, Friar's, and Summoner's Tales, in 6 parallel Texts from the MSS above named, with the remaining 13 coloured drawings of Tellers of Tales, after the originals in the Ellesmere MS, and with Specimens of the Variations of 30 MSS in the Doctor-Pardoner Link. (6-Text, Pt IV.)
- XXVI. The Wife's, Friar's, and Summoner's Tales, from the Ellesmere MS, with 9 woodcuts of Tale-Tellers. (Part IV.)
- XXVII. The Wife's, Friar's, Summoner's, Monk's, and Nun's-Priest's Tales, from the Hengwrt MS, with 23 woodcuts of the Tellers of the Tales. (Part III.)
- XXVIII. The Wife's, Friar's, and Summoner's Tales, from the Cambridge MS, with 9 woodcuts of Tale-Tellers. (Part IV.)
- XXIX. A Treatise on the Astrolabe, addressed to his son Lowys, in 1391 A.D., by Geoffrey Chaucer, edited by the Rev. Walter W. Skeat, M.A.

The issue for 1873, in the **First Series**, is,

- XXX. The Six-Text Canterbury Tales, Part V, containing the Clerk's and Merchant's Tales.

The issue for 1874, in the **First Series** (ready in June 1873), is,

- XXXI. The Six-Text, Part VI, containing the Squire's and Franklin's Tales.
XXXII to XXXVI. Large Parts of the separate issues of five MSS.

The issue for 1875, in the **First Series** (ready in September 1873), is,

- XXXVII. The Six-Text, Part VII, the Second Nun's, Canon's-Yeoman's, and Manciple's Tales, with the Blank-Parson Link.
- XXXVIII to XLIII. Large Parts of the separate issues of the Six MSS, bringing all up to the Parson's Tale.
- XLIV. A detailed Comparison of the *Troylus and Cryseyde* with Boccaccio's *Filosttrato*, with a Translation of all Passages used by Chaucer, and an Abstract of the Parts not used, by W. Michael Rossetti, Esq., and with a print of the *Troylus* from the Harleian MS 3943. Part I.
- XLV, XLVI. Ryme-Index to the Ellesmere MS of the Canterbury Tales, by Henry Cromie, Esq., M.A. Both in Royal 4to for the *Six-Text*, and in 8vo for the separate Ellesmere MS.
- XLVII. Notes and Corrections for the 8vo Ryme-Index, by H. Cromie, Esq.

The issue for 1876, in the **First Series**, is,

- XLVIII. Autotype Specimens of the Chief Chaucer MSS, Part I, 16 Autotypes, with a Note on the MSS, by F. J. Furnivall.

The issue for 1877, in the **First Series**, is,

- XLIX. The Six-Text, Part VIII, containing the Parson's Tale, with a Table of its Contents; and Mr Hy. Cromie's Notes and Corrections for the Ryme-Index (4to.), No. XLV.
- L to LV. Separate issues of the several MSS of the Parson's Tale.

The issue for 1878, in the **First Series**, is,

- LVI. Autotype Specimens of the Chief Chaucer MSS, Part II, from the Cambridge MS and Lord Leconfield's MS.
- LVII. A Parallel-Text edition of Chaucer's Minor Poems, Part II:—5. *The A B C*, from 6 MSS; 6. *The Mother of God*, from 3 MSS; 7. *Anelida and Arcyte*, from 5 MSS and Caxton's print; 8. *The Former Age*, from 2 MSS (with the Latin original, and Chaucer's prose Englishing); 9. *To his Scrivener* from Shirley's MS and Stowe's print; 10. *The House of Fame*, from 2 MSS and Caxton's and Thynne's prints.

The issue for 1879, in the First Series, will probably be,

- LVIII. Odd-Texts of Chaucer's Minor Poems, Part II, containing, 3. The *A B C*, from Shirley's MS & Bodl. 638; 4. The *House of Fame*, from the Pepys MS, &c. &c.
- LIX. A One-Text Print of Chaucer's Minor Poems, Part II, containing, VI. The *Mother of God*; VII. *Anelida and Arcite*; VIII. The *Former Age*; IX. *Adam Scrivener*; X. The *House of Fame*, &c. &c.
- LX. A Parallel-Text edition of Chaucer's Minor Poems, Part III, containing, 11. The *Legende of Good Women* from 5 MSS and Thynne's print; 12. *Truth* from 12 MSS; 13. The *Compleynt of Venus* from 6 MSS; 14. The *Envoy to Scogan* from 3 MSS; 15. *Marriage*, or *The Envoy to Bukton*, from 2 MSS and Notary's print; 16. *Gentleness* from 6 MSS; 17. *Proverbs* from 3 MSS; 18. *Stedfastness* from 6 MSS; 19. *Fortune* from 6 MSS; 20. *Chaucer to his empty Purse*, from 6 MSS.
- LXI. Supplementary Parallel-Texts of Chaucer's Minor Poems, Part II:—2. The *A B C*, from 5 MSS and Speght's ed. of 1602; 3. *Anelida and Arcite* from 6 MSS; 4. The *Legende of Good Women*, fragments from 3 or 6 MSS; 5. *Truth* from 3 MSS; 6. *Stedfastness* from 2 MSS and Thynne's print; 7. *Fortune* from 3 MSS; 8. *Chaucer to his Purse* from 4 MSS and 2 prints.
- LXII to LXVII. 6 Appendixes to the 6 MSS of the Six-Text; the Hengwrt MS, Part VI, containing The Canon's-Yeoman's Tale, from the Lichfield Cathedral MS; and 9 Woodcuts of Tellers of Tales and 3 of emblematical Figures from the Camb. Univ. MS. Gg. 4. 27, &c.

For 1880, Prof. Hiram Corson has made an Index to the Subjects and Names of *The Canterbury Tales*. He has also agreed to edit the Society's *Chaucer Concordance*. For 1881, Part I of the Parallel-Text edition of Chaucer's *Troilus* is preparing for the First Series.

Among the Texts and Essays, &c., preparing for the Chaucer Society are:—

Early English Pronunciation, with especial reference to Shakspeare and Chaucer, by Alexander J. Ellis, Esq., F.R.S. Part V (to be ready in 1879).

Autotype Specimens of the chief Chaucer Manuscripts, chosen by F. J. Furnivall, Part III.

The Tale of *Beryn*, Part II. Introduction and Glossary, by Messrs Furnivall and W. G. Stone.

Essays on Chaucer, his Words and Works, Part V: 13. Chaucer's *Parson's Tale* compared with Frère Lorens's *Somme des Vices et des Vertus*, by Herr H. Simon. 14. Metrical Tests applied to Chaucer, by Sidney J. Herrtage, B.A., &c.

Prof. Bernhard Ten-Brink's "CHAUCER: Studies on the History of his Development, and the Chronology of his Writings," Part I, translated by Miss Ottilie Blind, and revised by the Author.

Chaucer's *Road to Canterbury*, with Ogilby's Plan of it, 1675, and William Smith's Plan of the City of Canterbury in 1588; by the Rev. W. A. Scott Robertson, M.A., Hon. Sec. of the Kent Archaeological Institute.

Part II of Mr W. M. Rossetti's Comparison of Chaucer's *Troilus and Cryseyde* with Boccaccio's *Filostrato*.

Life-Records of Chaucer, Part III, The Household book of Isabella, wife of Prince Lionel, third son of Edward III, in which the name of GEOFFREY CHAUCER first occurs; edited from the unique MS in the Brit. Museum, by Edward A. Bond, Esq., Keeper of the MSS. Part IV, Other Enrolments and Documents from the Public Record Office, the City of London Town-Clerk's Office, &c., edited by Walford D. Selby, Esq., and F. J. Furnivall, Esq., M.A.

'A detailed Comparison of Chaucer's *Knight's Tale* with the *Teseide* of Boccaccio,' by HENRY WARD, Esq., of the MS Department of the British Museum.

The third French work will be either Guillaume de Machault's *Remède de Fortune* and *Dit de la Fontaine Amoureuse* (to compare with Chaucer's *Dethe of Blaunche the Duchesse*), or Jean de Meun's *Livre de Melibée et de Prudence* (from Albertano of Brescia's *Liber Consolationis*, A.D. 1246), or Guillaume de Machault's *Dit du Lyon*, the possible original of Chaucer's lost *Book of the Leo*, edited from the MSS, for the first time, by Professor PAUL MEYER. This will be followed by such originals of Chaucer's other works as are known, but are not of easy access to subscribers.

Messrs Trübner & Co., of 57 & 59, Ludgate Hill, London, E.C., are the Society's publishers, Messrs Clay and Taylor of Bungay its printers, and the Alliance Bank, Bartholomew Lane, London, E.C., its bankers. The yearly subscription is two guineas, due on every 1st January, beginning with Jan. 1, 1868. *More Members are wanted. All the Society's Publications can still be had. Those of the first year have just been reprinted.*

Prof. Child, of Harvard College, Cambridge, Massachusetts, is the Society's Honorary Secretary for America. Members' names and subscriptions may be sent to the Publishers, or to the Honorary Secretary,

W. A. DALZIEL, Esq., 9, Milner Street, Islington, N.

ESSAYS ON CHAUCER,

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PART IV.

XI. ON "HERE" AND "THERE" IN CHAUCER. By R. F. WEYMOUTH, Esq., D. LIT.

XII. Dr JOHN KOCH on 1. An original version of the "*Knight's Tale*." 2. The date and personages of the "*Parlament of Foules*." 3. "*Quene Anelida and the False Arcyte*." 4. *a.* Lollius. *b.* Chaucer, and Boccaccio's *Decamerone*.

Appendix. Prof. Scherk's Date of the Canterbury Journey, englisht from Herr Hertzberg's "*Canterbury-Geschichten*," 1866; with a note, showing why it's wrong, by Mr Skeat.

Palamon and Ersyte, a fragment from the Dublin University MS, D. 4. 18, No. 7.

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XI.

ON "HERE" AND "THERE"
IN CHAUCER.

BY

R. F. WEYMOUTH, ESQ., D. LIT.

*For an outline of the argument, see the recapitulation on
the last two pages of the paper.*

ON *HERE* AND *THERE* IN CHAUCER,

BY R. F. WEYMOUTH, ESQ., D. LIT.

KEY TO PALÆOTYPE.

The double vowel indicates the same sound as the single, but longer.

aa, as in father	i, as in pin, river
ai, as in Italian	oi, as in boy, noise
A, as in wall, raw	o, as in omit, hotel
ʊ, as in mention, rea	oo, as in note, home
æ, as in hat, pan	dh, as in they, then
e, as in met, pen	H, the common aspirate
ee, as in there, dare	J, the semivowel y, as in yet, young
ei, as in Italian	zh, as in pleasure, azure
ee, as in they, day, weigh, tame	ɹ, as in father, murmur
ə, as in but, run	A dot in the middle or at the end of a word indicates that the accent rests on the syllable immediately preceding, as (Hotel'), (Həidrəl'iks), (pæt'rənəiz)
ei, as in mine, drive	
əu, as in house, town	
ii, as in see, sea, machine	

I WISH in the following pages to reconstruct and somewhat expand a part of the argument which I presented to the Philological Society in a paper read in June 1870, and subsequently enlarged into a thin octavo published independently of the Society.¹

The first point to be established is that it is a grave mistake to suppose all words written with *-ere* in Chaucer to have sounded that termination alike. Such words are in fact divisible into two classes. The rhymes of Chaucer and all our other early poets leave no doubt as to this;

¹ In the frequent instances where this book is referred to in the course of the present paper, it is cited briefly as *E. E. P.* The full title is "On Early English Pronunciation, with especial reference to Chaucer, in opposition to the views maintained by Mr A. J. Ellis, F.R.S., in his work 'On Early English Pronunciation, with especial reference to Shakspeare and Chaucer.' By Richard Francis Weymouth, D. Lit., &c. London: Asher and Co., Bedford Street, Covent Garden, 1874."

but I propose to give the facts in detail, and somewhat more fully than is already done in my book. There I gave the results obtained from 659 rhymes in the *Canterbury Tales*: here I give those obtained from the whole of Chaucer, having used the Six-Text edition, supplemented by Bell's Chaucer. I confine my attention in this paper to the termination *-ere*, because the evidence is more abundant than for *-ete*, *-ede*, *-eme*, *-eke*, &c., though words with these endings also clearly divide themselves into two classes, as I have shown in my book, §§ 95—99.

Having now gone through the whole of Chaucer's Poems, I find a total of 1246 rhymes of words ending in *-ere* or *-er* or *-eere* or *-eer*. (The final *e*, I may say once for all, I have not taken into account. I have had quite work enough on hand without it.¹) These 1246 rhymes are formed by words which we shall find falling into two classes, these classes with but few exceptions rhyming only among themselves.

In the first class the following are the words that recur most frequently, and therefore afford the most abundant evidence. With each one I give the number of times it occurs rhyming, and the number of exceptional cases in which it rhymes with the other class. *Here* adv. (179—5²), *here* vb. (196—8), *dere* adj. (251—3), *deer* subst. (8—0), *manere*, *matere*, and other nouns³ from French feminines now spelt with *-ière* (492—12), *bachelor*, *bokeler*, and other nouns⁴ from French masculines in *-ier* (243—6),

¹ In like manner my reckoning has included words having the same verbal ending, as *crepeth*, *slepeth*, or the same plural form, as *eeres*, *heeres*.

² That is to say, there are in all 179 of Chaucer's rhymes in which the adverb *here* rhymes with some other word: in 174 of these it rhymes with some other word of what I have provisionally called the first class, while in only 5 does it rhyme with a word of the other class.

³ Banere, chambrere, ryvere, &c.

⁴ Archer, bracer, botiller, &c. A complete list of these French words in *-ere* and *-er* is given below. See also Table of Rhymes. They should all according to my view be pronounced like *career*, *engineer* &c., in modern English.

neer (37—0), *fere* = companion and *ifere* (72—4), *appeere* (21—0), *peer* and *compeer* (21—0), *frere* (39—1), *spere* = sphere and *emispere* (13—0), *lere* = learn (47—2), &c.

The second class consists of *there* (125—17), *were* from *be* (143—33), *bear* vb. and *forbear* (22—0), *here* = her (17—0), *spere* = hasta (18—0), *swere* vb. (14—0), *fere* = timor (60—6), *ere* subst. = ear (42—4), *where* (41—4), &c.

The total number of apparent exceptions is about 89 out of the 1246. It is not possible to affirm this number as absolutely exact, for when a word occurs but once, as *Omere*, *Richere*, there seems to be no means of deciding how Chaucer sounded it, otherwise than by the particular rhyme in which it occurs. But for no fewer than 19 of these 89 doubtful rhymes the one word *yere*¹ is responsible, and this coincides with the result of observation of the rhymes in other writers, suggesting that this particular word was sounded at pleasure in either of two ways, just as Lyndesay in the northern dialect uses sometimes *more* rhyming with *glore*, *score*, *affore*, *Diodore*, and sometimes the peculiarly northern form *mair* or *mare* rhyming with the adj. *fair*, *repair*, *declair*, *bair*, *sair*, *cair*, &c.; and just as also a modern poet will say (wind) or (wæind), (agen) or (ageen) as best suits the exigencies of the moment.

I will not however claim for my argument the benefit of this doubt. Let us assume the number of exceptions to be 89, this is only 7.1 per cent on the whole. Now what is the practice of our modern poets as to faulty rhymes? In Moore's *Lalla Rookh*, Part I., *The Veiled Prophet of Khorassan*, there are about 988 rhymes, of which 69 are defective (word, ador'd; wreath, breath; own, down; love, rove; &c.), being close upon 7 per cent. In Cowper's *Table Talk*, of 387 rhymes 34 are faulty; 8.8 per cent. In Byron's *Giaour*, 58 out of about 651; 8.9 per cent. In Keats's *Endymion*, Book I., 48 out of about 480; 10 per cent. In 50 pages of *The Man born to be*

¹ See my E. E. P., p. 67.

King, in Morris's *Earthly Paradise*, 79 out of 725 rhymes are bad (among which are specially notable *wear* rhyming with *fear*, and *fair* with *year*), ratio 10·9 per cent. In Scott's *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, to the end of Canto II., 149 out of about 464 are faulty; 14·9 per cent. And then it must be borne in mind that many of Chaucer's poems are in metres in which three, four, or even more words are made to rhyme, and in these more numerous exceptions occur, about 10 or 11 per cent (allowing for which we should of course have a lower per centage than 7·1 in the simpler metres). Now how is it with the moderns? In 74 stanzas of *Childe Harold*, each yielding 10 rhymes, 85 are defective; 11·2 per cent. In Southey's *Tale of Paraguay*, Canto I., of 460 rhymes 67 are bad; 14·5 per cent. In Shelley's *Revolt of Islam*, Dedication and Canto I., of 740 rhymes 153 are bad (*pierce, immerse; lend, fiend*; and several which are precisely similar to the few cases in Chaucer where a *here* word rhymes with a word like *there*, as *hemisphere, rare; years, wears; tears* subst., *wears; hears, cares; fears, cares; atmosphere, wear; &c.*); 20·7 per cent. The conclusion is obvious that an aggregate of 7·1 per cent of faulty rhymes in *-ere* in all Chaucer is altogether insufficient to disturb the conclusion to which the overwhelming majority of the rhymes point. And a closer scrutiny will greatly reduce the 89 exceptions, as we shall see presently.

Let us now glance briefly at some of the other early poets. We shall find they all lead to the same general conclusion, and therefore also I have not been at the pains to distinguish the spurious from the genuine among the poems that bear Chaucer's name. In Robert of Gloucester these *-ere* words divide themselves into two well marked classes, with only four (or perhaps five) exceptions throughout the whole *Chronicle*, three of which are furnished by the *yere* to which I have already called attention. In several minor poems which I have examined (the *Moral*

Ode, Land of Cockayne, Life of St Dunstan, St Swithin, the Oxford Student, &c.), *yere* rhymes three times with the first class, ten times with the second; omitting this word, we find the two classes distinct without a single exception. But two or three words are here in the second class which in Chaucer are in the first—*chere*, *bere* = bier, *lere* and *mislere*, showing differences of pronunciation in the mouths of different speakers in those times, just as some people now say (nii·dhɪ) and (lii·zhɪ), while others say (nəi·dhɪ) and (lezh·ɪ). In Robert of Brunne's Chronicle the classes are distinct with only five exceptions, of which *yere* furnishes none, rhyming everywhere with Class I. In the same poet's Handlyng Synne there are in all 244 of these rhymes, including 13 exceptions: they are that *here* adv. once rhymes with *debonair*, *manere* once with *swere* vb., *okerer* once with *bere* vb., *here* vb. twice with *tollere* (which as an Anglo-Saxon derivative should come in the second class, like *bakbyter*, *ledere*, *shappere*, in the same poem, and as always in Chaucer); *spere* = sphere once with *eyre* = heir, *dere* adj. once with *fyre*, *here* adv. and *scere* = ploughshare each once with *fyre*, *were* from *be* once with *bare* = tulit, and *there* once each with *share* = sheared, *Lazare*, and *ar* = are. I do not include the apparent exceptions that arise from the contraction of *prayere* in seven places into one syllable as in the modern *prayer*, nor the cases in which *thore* and *whore* are substituted for the commoner *there* and *where*.

It may be observed in passing that as to this change which I suppose to have taken place of *prayere* (pree-iir) into (pree·ɪ) and then (preeɪ), and the similar change of (skwəi-iir), (maniir), (matiir), (mariniir), (batsheliir), (popeliir), (koliir), &c.—all of them formerly, I believe, sounded with the last syllable as in *cashier*, *arrear*, *gazetteer*, &c.—into the now familiar sounds which we write as *squire*, *manner*, *matter*, *mariner*, *bachelor*, *poplar*, *collar*, &c., the accented (iir) becoming now a simple (ɪ), the

reader will hardly need to be reminded of the universal tendency of our language to throw back the accent to the beginning of the word; and this change of accent having taken place, the degradation of the vowel from the full clear (ii) into the indistinct and slipshod (v), as in the modern *manner*, or its total disappearance after another vowel, and the consequent running of two syllables into one, as in *prayer* and *squire*, follows as a matter of course.

If now we examine the same classes of words in the Northern Dialect, we find still the same distinction of words, though the spelling differs. Going through the whole of Lyndesay's poems, we find in all 396 of these rhymes, of which only 15 are exceptional. These are *familiair*--which indeed in Chaucer is not an (e) but an (i) word--rhyming once with *bar* and once with *Mar*, *repair* once with *Synear* = *Shinar*, *presoneir* with *Dunbar*, *peir* = *peer* once each with *lair* = *lore* and *fair* = *go*, *circuleir*--which according to analogy should be *circulair* or *circularre*--once each with *hemispeir* and *weir* = *doubt*, *mateir* once each with *declair* and *fair* = *go*, *beir* = *bear* vb. once with *cair*, and the verbs *inquyre* or *requyre* (also spelt with *-eir*) rhyming once with *heir* vb., *heir* adv., *freir*, and *yeir*; but on these compounds of *-quire* see below, p. 11, where it will be shown that these four are probably not exceptions. But here again I have not included the 10 instances in which *mair* appears in the southern form *more*, and rhymes accordingly.

Now in all the poems which I have systematically searched through, as well as all that I have more cursorily examined, I find the two classes consist almost entirely of the same sets of words, the Northern Dialect partially excepted. Thus in the one class we have *here* adv., *here* vb., *dear*,¹ *deer*, *near*, *appear*, *clear* and *Chaunticlere*, *cheer*, *beer*, *bier*, *bere* = *tulit*, *lere* = *learn*, *lere* = *counten-*

¹ The reader will excuse the modern spelling, which serves to indicate more readily what *dere* is intended.

ance, *peer* and *compeer*, *swere* = neck, *spere* = sphere, *emispere* = hemisphere, *were* = doubt, *year* most commonly, *fere* = companion and *ifere* = in company, *steer* vb., *steer* = steersman, *steer* = ox, as well as the two classes of words of French derivation represented by *manere* and *bachiler* respectively. In the other class are words of A.S. derivation such as *helper*, *miller*, *leader* (where *-er* = A.S. *-ere*), and the corresponding feminines in *-ster* (A.S. *-stre*), as *tapster*, *hoppestere*, the adverbs *there* and *where*, *were* from *be*, *were* = protect, *wear* = gero, *dere* = vexo, *bear* vb. and *forbear*, *bear* n., *tear* vb., *here* = her, *here* = hair, *ere* = before, *swear* vb., as well as numerous words which, as I have pointed out elsewhere,¹ rhymed with these as late as the close of the 16th century, though they are now pronounced with (ii)—*ear* vb., *ear* s., *fear*, *gear*, *spear*, *weir*, *tear* s. It is these words that in the Northern Dialect are found, as in modern English, rhyming with *here*, *dear*, *deer*, &c. Possibly it was direct Scottish influence that under the Stuarts made (iir), (spiir), (fiir), &c. fashionable, as it seems to have completed the change of *a* from (aa) to (ee) or (ee): see my E. E. P., §§ 69—71.

One early poem, the Story of Genesis and Exodus, claims special mention. At first it puzzled me sorely. It seemed to abound in exceptions to the rule of Chaucer's pronunciation. It was only when I had very nearly finished my examination of the poem that I recollected one peculiarity of the Suffolk dialect (in which according to Dr Morris it is written), namely that in Suffolk *there* and *where* are sounded (dhiia) and (whiia). At once I saw that a line could be drawn on my paper so as to separate *here*, *there*, *where*, *nere*, &c. from *bere*, *were*, *huntere*, &c. without a single exception.²

¹ E. E. P., § 3.

² It may be desirable to describe my *modus operandi* in collecting rhymes. On finding a distich with *-ere*—*chere manere*, for instance—I place these words near one another on one page of an open sheet of paper and connect them with a line, across which I

But to return for a while to Chaucer. It may reasonably be asked what light is thrown upon this question by Mr Cromie's carefully compiled Ryme-Index to the Ellesmere MS. of the Canterbury Tales. I will answer that question and give exact figures. Two or three observations however must be premised.

It has been remarked above that *yere* (= annus) seems to have a double pronounciation in Chaucer and some other early poets, like *wind* and *wīnd*, *more* and *mair*. We will therefore set that word aside. The use of the preterite *bere* (= carried) also wavers considerably, rhyming in all Chaucer 8 times with one class, 7 times with the other.¹

make a short stroke every time that rhyme recurs. The next line is probably of two quite different words, and if analogy or etymology or previous observation has given reason to suppose that these would rhyme with the former—*here* (adv.) *rivere*, for example—I put these on the same page with a similar connecting line; and with them I connect all subsequent rhymes in which any one of these words is found, as *chere dere*, *here matere*, &c. When a rhyme occurs such as *there ere*, *tere millere*, which I suspect to belong to a different class, I place these on the opposite page, and connect with them other similar words when rhymes containing them occur. If an exceptional rhyme appears, as *here were*, *appeere where*, the connecting line will cross from one page to the other, and thus the exception be clearly marked to the eye. Now in Genesis and Exodus these lines crossing the page, and marked with little strokes showing the repetition of the rhymes, were unexpectedly numerous: *ner* was connected with *there* and the line crossed, but a line connected it also with *here* (adv.) on the opposite page, and was also crossed; *ger* (= annus) was connected by a crossed line with *there*, but by a line nine times crossed, and thus showing ten instances of that rhyme, with *her* (adv.); and *there* on the right-hand page, where I had set it down as supposing that it would rhyme with *bere* vb., &c., had lines connecting it with *butuler*, *prisoner*, *auter*—all derived from French words in *-ier*—which were on the left-hand page. I had expected scarcely any connexion between words on the opposite pages, as they were arranged according to the results of my previous study of Chaucer's rhymes, but the expectation was disappointed. At last, however, I discovered that among the words on the right-hand page a tortuously meandering line might be drawn completely separating *auter*, *butuler*, *ger* = annus, *here* adv., *there*, *ner*, &c., from *bere* vb., *answere*, *huntere*, *dere* = annoy, *were* = defend, *to-tere*, *ger* = gear, *shere*, &c., and not crossed anywhere by a line indicative of exception.

¹ The two A.S. forms are *bær* and *bear*, = , as I believe, (beer) and (biar). See E. E. P., § 108 and §§ 116—118.

Enquere and *requere* furnish in all Chaucer 21 rhymes, 13 with one class, 8 with the other; and Lyndesay makes these rhyme twice with words in *-ire* or *-yre*, 4 times with those that he spells with *-eir*, while the only rhyme of *enquere* in Handl. Synne is with a word of the second class (*per*): these two words therefore are doubtful, and we will set them aside. The two pronunciations of these words can be accounted for if we remember that they were irregular verbs even in Early French; that the infinitives (see Littré) were *enquerre* and *requerre*, while there were numerous forms with *i*, such as *requiert*. In like manner we may set aside *bere* = a litter for a dead body. Mr Cromie takes this from the A.S. *bær*, but it may equally come from the French *bière*.¹ Usage is divided, though in the Early English poets generally this *bere* is clearly taken from the French, not the English, original.

If then we leave out all the rhymes formed with *yere*, *bere* = *tulit*, *requere* and *enquere*, and *bere* = *bier*, what remains? A total of 330 rhymes is given by Mr Cromie, of which, according to my division of classes, only 5 are faulty.² They are the following. In p. 44 of the 6-Text edition *breres* rhymes with *geres*, though elsewhere it rhymes once with *deer* subst., and, the Old Norman form being *briere*, this is more in accordance with analogy. Second, in p. 184 *grammeere* = Mod. Fr. *grammaire*, rhymes with *mateere*, but as *grammeere* occurs nowhere else, I am not sure that this is an exception, yet will not claim for my argument the benefit of the doubt. Third, in p. 197 *dextrer* rhymes with *wonger*, the former word (= *destrier*) taking its ending from the French *-ier*, the latter from the A.S. *-ere*. This is an undoubted exception to the rule: there is not a second rhyme of the sort in all Chaucer. Fourth, in p. 383 we find *frere* = *friar*, which

¹ A fact overlooked in my E. E. P., p. 67.

² Every rhyme in the Ryme-Index being counted twice, the apparent number is 660, including 10 exceptions.

in 38 other places in Chaucer belongs to the same class as *here*, rhyming for once with *were* the plural of *was*: a most certain exception. The fifth is at p. 431, where the adj. *deere* rhymes with *were*, the subj. of *be*. There are in all Chaucer only two other such rhymes formed by this adj. out of a total formed by it of not less than 251. These five (or four or perhaps only three) are the only exceptions out of 330. I have not reckoned however the rhyme of *ever* with *never*, the last syllable being unaccented; and the apparent additional exception of the verb *bere* rhyming with the adverb *here* in p. 41, l. 1421, is only apparent, the *here* in this place not being necessarily an adverb (as Mr Cromie takes it), but making perfectly good sense if taken as a pronoun = *her*. This is one passage out of many where the rhyme helps the reader to see at a glance the true sense of an otherwise ambiguous passage. That it may help to determine the genuineness or the contrary of doubtful lines, I have shown in my book in the case of *fruitesteres* rhyming with *wafereres*.¹

Briefly to restate this part of my argument, it may be put thus. The word *here* has four distinct meanings: it may be (a) the verb *hear*, or (b) the adverb *here*, or (c) the noun *hair*, or (d) the personal pronoun *her*. If it bears either of the first two meanings, it rhymes in *all* our Early English² poets with *dere* adj., *dere* s., *clere*, *chere*, *appeere*, &c., and only very rarely and exceptionally with *were* from *be*, *where*, *there*, *swere* vb., *forbere*, &c. But it is with these latter words that it rhymes in either the third or fourth sense, and rarely or never with the former. So *were* has seven different meanings: it may be (a) the plural of *was*, it may be (b) the past subjunctive of the same verb, it may be (c) the modern verb to *wear*, or (d) the now obsolete *were* = protect, it may mean (e) *war*,

¹ E. E. P., p. 69, footnote.

² Once for all, under this term here and commonly I include *Middle* English, in accordance with the practice of the *Early English Text Society*.

or (f) *husband*, or (g) *doubt* or *perplexity*. In the first six of these senses it rhymes with *there* and its class, in the last sense only does it rhyme with *deere*, *cleere*, &c., and it rhymes with these—with only two exceptions that I have discovered anywhere—not only in Chaucer, but in Lyndesay's Poems, where it occurs in no fewer than 27 rhymes, in Handlyng Synne, in Robert of Brunne's Chronicle, and in short in the whole of our Early English poetry. And a similar distinction is clearly marked in the use of all words with this termination—three or four only excepted,—provided only they form a sufficient number of rhymes to yield any evidence that can be relied on.

Not many minds that are not quite impervious to reasoning will resist the proofs here adduced that we have two distinct classes of words in *-ere* in Early, as in Modern, English, of which the two adverbs now pronounced (hiɪɹ) and (dheɪɹ) may be taken as types respectively; and inasmuch as the same can be proved by similar evidence to be true of words in *-eke*, *-ene*, *-ete*, &c.,¹ and neither of these classes (except very rarely words of the second class) will rhyme with *sette*, *bedde*, *henne*, and other such words with the short *e*; we thus see that there were in the 14th century three different sounds represented by one and the same written symbol, just as at present. The next question therefore is, what were these sounds? As to the short *e*, and as to the second or *there* class, Mr Ellis believes, as I do, that the vowel was sounded as at present—(set), (hen); (dheɪɹ), wheɪɹ).

More fully given, Mr Ellis's view is that certain "rhymes lead irresistibly to the conclusion that the one general sound of *e*, *ee*, *ea*, *eo*, *oe*, *ie* in Chaucer was (ee) long or (e) short, and they leave no room to conclude that *e* was ever pronounced as (i) except in the prefix *be* which we find written indifferently *be bi*. . . . Perhaps the *e* was generally broad, as (E)² rather than (e). . . .

¹ See E. E. P., §§ 95—99.

² "Like a bleat," Ellis's E. E. P., p. 4.

We must be content with one form (e) for the, possibly, three forms (e, e, e). It is indeed very probable that all three coexisted, and were not discriminated by the speakers themselves."¹ The evidence above given shows that the sounds written with *e* were discriminated, at least into two main classes, and that the distinction was very broad, very clearly marked, and universally recognized.

Our inquiry then is now how were *here* adv. and vb., *dere* adj., *chere*, *bachiler*, &c., pronounced? Did they differ only as the German *Herr* (heer) and *Heer* (Heer), or the Devonshire *there* (dheer) and *their* (dheer)? Or was the difference wider and more marked than this? In answering this question I shall maintain the following propositions:—

1. There is direct and positive evidence from several different quarters that the sound was (ii);

2. There is direct and positive evidence that the symbol, namely *i*, to which Mr Ellis attaches the sound of long (ii), did not in Chaucer's English represent that sound, but the widely different one of (ei), or some approximation to that diphthong; and

3. There is direct and positive evidence that the *e* in these words was not the close (ee), inasmuch as that sound is already provided for by another symbol, *ai* or *ei*.

Each of these propositions I shall endeavour to maintain by several separate and independent arguments; and I wish earnestly to call attention to the fact that all these score or so of independent arguments support one another, and constitute a great mass of *cumulative* evidence. This is not a train of deductive reasoning in which a single fallacy or false premiss vitiates the whole. It is not a chain which drops asunder if a single link gives way. It is not a product of engineering skill the strength of which is to be measured by the strength of its weakest part. The unsoundness of these views can only be demonstrated by my being dislodged, point after point, from every one of

¹ Ellis's *E. E. P.*, p. 263.

the positions I have taken up. Nothing can be more absurd than the course adopted by a German reviewer, R. W., in the *Literarisches Centralblatt*, who pulls out of the entire fabric one single brick which he imagines to be defective, and which he holds up to the amusement and amazement of mankind, while it never occurs to him to consider whether the building as a whole has any architectural merit or any adaptation to the purpose for which it was designed. As to that particular brick, we will have a look at it again by and by.

I.

1. The first argument which I shall advance in support of my first proposition is based on our traditional English pronunciation. In most—so far as I am aware, in all—of our dialects the vowel is (ii) in the words of English origin in the class we are discussing; in *here* adv., *hear* vb., *dear* adj., *deer* s., *near*, &c.

It is not necessary to repeat here the reasons I have elsewhere¹ given for believing in the normal stability of our dialects, which, as I contend, have remained in a great degree unchanged for centuries, till the ponderous roller of national education comes in our time to level all distinctions in modes of speech. As to the notion that the Wars of the Roses would occasion a vast change in the mode of speech of the whole nation, never did Queen Mab spin a flimsier cobweb in the brain of any man. Let us hear what Mr Elworthy says of the stability of the West Somersetshire dialect.

“We in our benighted regions have now (raai̯l'rooəd̯z), (təl'igraamz), and (traak'shən iin'dzhinz), bringing with them new ideas and enlarged knowledge; but we do not find that the (ʌp kən'tri meen) who come with them are in sufficient number to make any impression upon local pronunciation; and we find too that the words which they

¹ E. E. P., §§ 6—10 and p. 118.

import into the district are adopted as words, but with more or less different sounds attached to them, and I have no doubt but that similar results attend the importation of words into all other districts." With this opinion I heartily agree. And this testimony has reference to this 19th century, in which the "commyxstion and mellynge" of the people is immeasurably greater than at any earlier period of our history.

Yet this assertion of the stability of our dialects needs to be supplemented. It cannot for a moment be questioned that dialects have been and are exceedingly unstable in some other countries and in widely different circumstances. The authorities quoted by Professor Max Müller (Lect. II.) are quite sufficient to establish this conclusion. The question remains, though this is not a fitting time for its discussion, what causes tend to promote or hinder change; but it may be confidently asserted that the periodical *scírgemót*, the hundred-court holden monthly, and the frequent meetings of the tithing and of the gild, must have had a powerfully conservative influence on spoken language.

Besides, why should our language be so strangely exceptional? There is abundant reason to believe that the ancient pronunciation in the main, and as to the accented stems and root-syllables of words, has survived throughout Spain, Portugal, Italy for Latin, and that of Greek in the main in modern Greece. German scholars pronounce medieval German as much as possible like modern German, and the probability is that they are right (except on certain points in *Mæso-Gothic*). In Icelandic there has probably been very little change during eight centuries. And as to Early French, Génin's dictum is commonly, and (I venture to think) rightly, accepted: "*Les mots anciens se prononçaient comme se prononcent aujourd'hui les mots modernes qui les ont remplacés.*"¹ It is precisely this

¹ I quote from Pellissier, *La Langue française*, p. 113, not

principle, of course with numerous implied exceptions, for which I contend as applicable for the most part to English also. The analogy of other languages certainly does not favour Mr Ellis's belief that every long vowel and diphthong in the English tongue, a few favoured words excepted, changed its sound—(aa) to (ee) or (ee), (ee) to (ii), (ii) or (iî) to (ai), (oo)¹ to (oo), (uu) to (au),² (yy)³ to (iu), (au)¹ to (AA), (eu)¹ to (iu), (ai)¹ to (ee)—all in about two hundred years, or not much more.

2. Secondly, of Chaucer's *e* words many at a later time are written with *ee*, as *bee*, *queen*, *sheep*; or in a few cases with the single *e* still, and a final *e* mute as sign of a long preceding vowel, as *here* adv., and *sphere*; while a large number have changed Chaucer's *e* into *ea*. Now the traditional pronunciation of many of this last class is with (ee) or (ee); of the former all have (ii). Thus we have *break*,⁴ *great*, *breath*, *death*, *bread*, *dead*, *tear* vb., *swear*, *bear* vb., and noun, and this list might be largely increased, especially by the aid of the dialects;⁵ while we have also *meek*,⁶ *seek*, *feet*, *geese*, *heel* of the body, *steer* vb. and noun, *speed*, *heed*, *need*, *feed*, *bleed*, *succeed*, *creed*, *breed*, *steed*, *seem*, *deem*, *seen*, *keen*, *green*, *fifteen* and other numerals, and so on. Now words like *break*, *great*, *bear*, *swear*, belong with few exceptions (such as *appear*) to Chaucer's second class; those spelt later with *ee* to the first, I think without a single exception. Thus orthography comes to the aid of tradition in fixing by analogy (ii) as the vowel of *here*, &c. Because it must be further observed that these words never have been customarily spelt with *ea*.

having succeeded in finding the words in Génin's *Variations du Langage français*.

¹ As in the Italian *parlò*, *aurora*, *Europa*, *hai*, the vowels distinct.

² As in *how*, *house*.

³ As in French, *flûte*.

⁴ In Chaucer *breke*, *grete*, *brethe*, &c.

⁵ In the West of England *sea* is (*see*), *peat* (*peet*), *read* (*reed*); but *see* and *reed* are (*sii*), (*riid*).

⁶ In Chaucer *meke*, *seke*, *feet*, *gees*, &c.

At least I do not remember to have seen in MSS. or books of any age of English, even when our orthography was as yet but imperfectly settled, a sentence such as might tell of "fifteen green geese seen feeding at the meek queen's heels," with even one of these words written with *ea*. In later times when *ween* and *wean*, *week* and *weak*, *heel* and *heal*, &c., are sounded alike, mere ignorance will confound one mode of spelling with another; but my argument has reference to the orthography that was commonly recognized among learned or at least educated men during the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries.

3. Thirdly, I would present an *argumentum ad auctoritatem* analogically applied. In the Elizabethan age, when it is admitted by Mr Ellis that *sheep* was pronounced as at present, we find Sir Thomas Smith (1568) describing this $\bar{e}$ (ii) as the *e Anglicum*.¹ What is implied in this designation? This, at least; that Smith, a man of considerable learning, a true lover of antiquity, a careful student of language, and one whose chief study seems to have been pronunciation, recognizes this as the true English sound. Is it in any degree probable that a sound which almost within living memory had forced its way as a newcomer into the language would be acknowledged by such a man as Smith as $\kappa\alpha\tau'$ $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omicron\chi\acute{\eta}\nu$ "the English *e*"? Nothing is more improbable. And if (ii) is the sound which the symbol *e* represented in *sheep*, to which the rhymes of three centuries or more show *keep* and *sleep* to have been similarly pronounced, while *heap* and *leap* had some different sound²—most probably (ee), as Mr Ellis also believes—we find here two small classes of words apparently analogous to the much larger classes in which *here* and *there*

¹ Elsewhere he prefers the feminine—"e Anglica," obviously scil. litera.

² Chaucer's evidence, however, does not prove this: it is of uncertain tone and insufficient in quantity. But in other poets some proof is found. Thus Sir Philip Sidney makes *heap*, *reap*, *leap* rhyme together, and separately, *deep*, *weep*, *keep*, *sheep*, *creep*, *sleep*. In Ben Jonson *cheap*, *heap*, *reap*, *leap* rhyme together, and separately, *keep*, *steep*, *deep*, *sleep*, *weep*, *peep*, *sheep*, *creep*.

are typical individuals, and thus we have at least a strong presumption that as

sheep : heap :: here : there

This *e*, moreover, Smith expressly opposes to the Italian *e* when he says that perhaps we rightly now say, "*Domine ne in furore per e Italicum, non quemadmodum olim per illud .e. Anglicum quod in bee cùm apis dicimus, aut me cùm ἐμὲ nostro more loquamur, obseruatur.*"¹ This "quemadmodum olim" clearly points to a more ancient pronunciation of the *e* in Latin words in this island than the (e) which he approved.

4. But again, two words of the class we are discussing are among the oldest in the language, and might reasonably be expected to be found in some similar form in the nearest allied languages. Accordingly these words—*here* adv., and *deer*—are found in High German, Dutch, Platt-Deutsch, and Friesic, and in all of these the traditional pronunciation of the vowel is the same. No doubt there may have been a time, far, far remote, when the ancestors of the Teutonic and of the Classical races occupied the same village or slept under the same roof, and when a wild animal was called by some such name as (deer): the Latin *ferus* and the Greek *φῆρ* or *θήρ* point to a name with no (i) sound in it. If we suppose this, the thought very naturally suggests itself that this (ee) by some trick of the Teutonic mouth (using the word Teutonic in its widest sense) became (jee), that this adscititious element next developed itself into a full vowel (iee), which in time become the more important part of the diphthong (iie), and finally the new colonist drove out the original settler altogether and only (ii) remained. But the pure (ee) stage of (heer) and (deer) must have been many centuries—millennia possibly—before the *Canterbury Tales* were written, and all the earliest forms both of the noun and of the adverb which are given by Graff, Lexel, Kilian, &c., contain an *i*: *dius*, *dier*, *diar*, *djier*, *tier*, *tior*, and *hier*, *hiar*, *hir*, *hie*, *hi*. That there

¹ De Ling. Gr. Pron., p. 14 vº.

was an (i) sound in these cannot be doubted: perhaps indeed some of these forms may have been intended to represent sounds nearly if not quite identical with our English (diii), (hiia). Thus Holland and Germany, with their traditional pronunciation and orthography of these two words, confirm the results already arrived at.

5. A fifth argument is furnished by French traditional pronunciation and spelling in such words as those from which Chaucer's *manere* and *bachiler* were derived.¹ In their early forms almost all of these contained an *i*. But some of them, it has been objected, had no *i* in their earliest forms. What of that, if they had it in or before Chaucer's time? It is sufficient for us to know what French was in his day. Now I have turned up in Littré all Chaucer's words of these two classes, and with the following results:—

In the 10th century we find *menestier*, which in the 11th became *mestier*. In the 12th we find *archier*, *aumosniere*, *carpentier*, *corsier*, *costumier*, *dangier*, *despencier*, *entier*, *erbier*, *messagier*, *olivier*, *panier*, *preiere*, *psaltier*, *riviere*, and *solier*. In the 13th *bordelier*, *celerier*, *clostrier*, *dossiere*, *forestier*, *hostelier*, *liemier*, *marinier*, *poplier*, *tapicier*, and *tavernier*. In the 14th *corniere*, *familier*, *gauffrier*, *jartiere*, *papier*, and *officier*. Other words in Chaucer, but which do not appear in French literature till the 15th or 16th century, are *brassiere*, *clappier* (of which however there is an earlier form, *clapoire*), *enfermier*, *jaulier*, *pantiere*, and *prisonnier*. None of these words are found ending simply in *-er* or *-ere*, all have the *i*.²

In the following nine the forms in *er*, and *ier*, are con-

¹ I pronounce all these words like the modern English *engineer*, *cashier*, *arrears*, &c., whatever the spelling is now or was in the 14th century.

² Chaucer's forms, with minor variations, are—*myster*, *archeer*, *awmere*, *carpenter*, *corser*, *custommer*, *daunger*, *spenser*, *entere*, *erbere*, *messenger*, *olyver*, *panyer*, *preyere*, *sawter*, *ryvere*, *soler*; *celerer*, *cloystrer*, *dosser*, *forester*, *hostileer*, *limer*, *maryneer*, *popeler*, *tapycer*, *taverner*; *corner*, *familer*, *waferer*, *garter*, *papeer*, *officer*; *bracer*, *claper*, *fermerer*, *gayler*, *panter*, *prisoner*.

temporary: *premier* and *premer*, in the 11th century; *bouteillier* and *buteiller*, *chamberiere* and *chamberere*, *cordelier* and *cordeler*, *colier* and *coler*, *hospitalier* and *hospitauler*, in the 13th; *particulier* and *particuler*, in the 15th. In five the form in *-er*, is later than that in *-ier*: *consellier* (10th century) becomes *cunseiller* (12th); *esquier* (11th) also *escuer* (12th); *biere* = *bier* (11th) is also *berre* (12th); *pilier* (12th) also *piler* (13th); *eschekier* (12th), *escheker* (13th). And in thirteen the later form, so far as Littré's quotations afford evidence, has the *i*, which the older one wants: *chiere* (12th century), *chere* (11th); *clier* (12th), *cler* (11th); *derrier* (12th), *derere* (11th); *destrier* (12th), *destrer* (11th); *plenier* (12th), *plener* (11th); *tresorier* (12th), *tresorer* (11th); *vergier* (12th), *verger* (11th); *laurier* (13th), *lorer* (11th); *seculier* (13th), *seculer* (12th); *escolier* (14th), *escoler* (12th); *regulier* (14th), *riuler* (13th); *bachelier* (15th), *baceler* (11th); *bouclier* (16th), *bucler* (11th).¹ Now in half of the words which have the double form—that is 14 out of 27—the form with *i* is contemporary with or even earlier than the other. But if the modern French pronunciation may be accepted as a guide, the *i* in all such words as *pre-mier*, *fa-mi-lier*, *manie-re*, &c. not forming a separate syllable, this seems to suggest the possibility that *boucler* and *bouclier* were only different modes of representing the same sound. Icelandic scholars tell us that in old MSS. *her* and *ser* stand for *hèr* and *sèr* (Hjeer) (Sjeer), and that we may not infer the pronunciation to have been simply (Heer) and (seer) because the accent was not written. This is, to say the least, not improbable. An early and immature orthography is very likely to meet with sounds in actual speech which it knows not how to deal with. And it was probably the same in French, and—as I venture to conjecture—this semi-vowel

¹ Chaucer's forms, with minor variations, are—primer, boteler, chambrere, matere, banere, cordiler, coler, hospitaler, particuler, counseler, squyer, beere, piler, chekker, cheere, cleere, derere (as in warderere = gare derriere = look out behind), dextrer, plener, tresorer, verger, laurer, seculeer, scoler, regular, bacheler, bokeler.

which preceded the (ee) was confounded by the English and Teutonic *ear* with the distinct vowel (ii), and then became (ii) in the English and Teutonic *mouth*, even to the extrusion of the original (ee). This has certainly been the case in the Dutch and German forms such as *offizier*, &c. So far as the *l* is concerned—for half of these words end in *-ler*—I take it to have had in such cases the power of the *gl* (nearly) in Italian, the *ll* in Spanish, and the *lh* in Portuguese. Although therefore *bachelor* and *boeler* do not appear in forms with *i* in French literature earlier than the 15th and 16th centuries respectively, yet it is easily conceivable and highly probable that these words—as well as many, or indeed all, of the others—may have had the sound of (jee) quite as much when written without the *i* as when written with it.

There yet remain a few of these words of which I cannot give a good account. The modern French *pardonneur* is not equivalent to Chaucer's *pardoner*, and French literature—at least so far as I can learn from Cotgrave, Kelham, Mätzner, or Littré—has no forms corresponding to his *annueleer*, *corniculer*, *herbeger*, *laborer*. I suppose all these words, as well as *gospeler* and *seryveneer*, to have been used by Chaucer as analogous forms to *counseler* and *archeer*. Seven words he makes continually to rhyme with the class now under consideration, notwithstanding that the French forms appear to have had only (eer): they are, *antiphoner*, *peer* and *compeer*, *frere*, *sopeer*, *dyner*, *homager*, and *spere* = sphere. But *antiphoner* occurs only once (forming two rhymes) in all Chaucer, *homager* only once, and the argument will suffer very little if even we were to add three faulty rhymes to the very moderate number already reckoned.

On the other hand, in Early French *matiere* has also the form *matire* (13th century), and some words appear in what I have called the first class of *-ere* words in Chaucer and his contemporaries, which are anglicized from French words that knew no other form than those in (iir),

as *saphere*, *pleasir* (Lynd.), *leysere* (Handl. Synne), Fr. *safir*, *plaisir*, *leisir*. And is not Chaucer's *poweer* similarly to be accounted for? True, in modern French the form is *pouvoir*; but in the very earliest specimen of French that exists, the famous oath of Lewis the Germanic (842), it is *podir*. Mätzner has the word only in the form *pooir*. Littré's examples give the same with only two exceptions to the end of the 14th century. How then was this pronounced? The Burgundian *oi*, so common as (wa) in modern French, we know to have been (wee) 300 years ago; but in many of these words there is a radical (i),¹ which makes it probable that the (wee) is itself changed from an earlier (wii). If so, the 9th century (pod'iir) dropping the middle consonant becomes (po'iir), which with the necessary euphonic insertion of the semi-vowel becomes (po'wiir). This I believe to be just the sound that *pooir* was intended to represent, and that Chaucer meant the very same when he wrote *powere* or *poweer*. Only the first vowel may have stood for (uu). One of Littré's 12th-century forms is *pouvoir* = (puu'wiir), while in the 14th century *pouer* = (puu'weer) comes in, whence (puu'vweer) and (puu'vwar).

II.

I proceed now to my second proposition: that there is evidence that the symbol—namely *i*—to which Mr Ellis attaches the sound of long (ii) did not represent that sound, but the widely different one of (əi), as in modern English, or at least some sound closely approaching (əi).

1. My first argument is again based on the traditional pronunciation of *mine*, *thine*, *wife*, *knife*, &c., in the great majority of our English dialects throughout the island,

¹ Thus *royne* from *regina*, *froid* from *frigidus*, *poirre* from *piper*, (*g*)*loir* from *glir*-, *moins* from *minus*, &c.; besides the large class of words in which the *i* is supposed to have assumed precedence of the consonant which it used to follow, as *gloire* from *gloria*, *témoin* from *testimonium*, *dortoir* from *dormitorium*, &c.

north, south, east, and west. In the western counties the sound is perhaps more commonly (ai) or (aai)¹ than (œi), as it is also in parts of Yorkshire and Derbyshire and elsewhere; in the vale of Gloucester it is (œi)²; in South Lancashire (Ai); in each of the three Scottish dialects of which Dr J. A. H. Murray gives so full an account it approximates to (œi); and sometimes one hears (æi). This widely prevailing tradition establishes a strong presumption that (œi) is the true ancient sound, or rather, one of the ancient sounds. For there is reason to believe that there was as great a variety of pronunciation in different parts of the island 500 or perhaps 1000 years ago as at the present day, perhaps even greater; and it may be readily admitted that in some words in some districts the sound of (ii) is also a true ancient sound, as in the Kentish (diik) for *dike*, and the Devonshire (liit) for *little*, which existed within living memory.

2. We have next the traditional pronunciation of numerous Hollandish words akin to, or rather identical with, their English equivalents: *mijn*, *fijn*, *wijn*, *schijn*, *lijn*, *zwijn*, *bijten*, *smijten*, &c., &c. These again afford a strong presumption that at that remote epoch when our Saxon and Angle sires dwelt side by side with the forefathers of the Hollanders, they all alike would speak of (mœin fœin wœin); and the existence in High German of the same words, pronounced in the same manner, points to the same conclusion.

Let me not be misunderstood. It is quite possible that the prevailing pronunciation of the *ii* in the Low Countries was (ii), as Erasmus seems to show;³ nevertheless the earliest known pronunciation in the province of

¹ For West Somerset see Mr Elworthy's lists.

² As in *boy*, *noise*.

³ When he gives *wijt* and *wijn* as containing the same sound as *wit* and *win*, only lengthened; and in asserting, "Quum dico is" [i. e. the Latin *is* = thou goest] "ab eo, sic enuntio quemadmodum Batavi glaciem (ijs): quum lis unde litis, sic effero quemadmodum Gallus sonat lilia." De Lat. Gr. que Sermonis Pron., p. 143: edit. Froben, 1530.

Holland was (əi) or some sound close akin to this. Siegenbeek, quoted by Mr Ellis (p. 295), *affirms* that this had been changed from an earlier (ii), but *proof* of this change, so far as I am aware, is wholly wanting. The sound of *ii* or *ij* with the Hollanders, which through political and literary influences spread throughout the Netherlands, was (əi): other provinces adopted this as a *new* pronunciation, but there is no evidence that Holland had ever done the same.

3. If we appeal to the grammarians of the 17th century, we find Mieke (1688), Wilkins (1668), and Wallis (1653), all recognizing the diphthongal character of our long *i*, which earlier writers seem not to have noticed; Gil, Cheke, Smith, and others could not discern the diphthongal sound when written with a single symbol. But we find Gil (1621) comparing the three words *win* = conquer, *ween* = think, and *wine*. The last of these is supposed by Mr Ellis to have been sounded then in England with the Scotch long *i*, in which we learn from Dr Murray (p. 113) "the second element is very distinctly *ee* [that is (ii)], and is less overshadowed by the preponderance of the first element than in English." But not only do we seem to be treading on very unsafe ground when we endeavour to establish such minute distinctions at so great a distance of time, but if the difference that existed in Gil's time between *win*, *ween*, and *wine* was not broad and clear, it is hard to see how he could boast of this last vowel as "antiquum illum et masculinum sonum," and triumphantly quote the authority of Lipsius, who commends the Britons as almost alone of all Europeans preserving the true sound of words like *regina*, *amica*, *vita*, &c. And be it observed Gil calls this "that ancient sound." Surely if it had intruded into the language within the two centuries preceding, during which time so many books had been written on Pronunciation both in England and on the Continent, a man of learning like Gil, Head Master of St Paul's School, must have been aware of the fact.

Half a century earlier than Gil we find Hart endeavouring to induce "English Latinistes" to adopt, instead of what he calls "our errors," "the Italian and High Dutch and Welshe pronounciation of their letters." Among these "errors" is this, that the English pronounced the *i* with the sound of *ei*. And what sound was that? Hart does not clearly show, but Mekerch exemplifies it by the Fl. *loosheit*, *scheiden*, &c., and Erasmus by the Dutch for ovum (i. e. *ei*), for paratus (i. e. *bereit*), &c. "At diphthongum euidenter audire licet in lingua Germanorum, quum nominant Cæsarem. . . . Neque non sentitur apud nos diphthongus *ei*, si Hollandice dicas ovum, paratus, uersutiæ, Maius, facinus, seductus, caro. Apud Gallos hæc rarius auditur." (De Lat. Gr. que Sermonis Pro., p. 108: Froben's edit., 1530.) But among Erasmus's examples he gives *caro*, by which he must mean, not the Low German *vleesch* surely, but the High German *Fleisch*. And what sound is this, a diphthong, rarely heard in French, and therefore differing considerably from the pure (ii), and represented in Flemish, Dutch, (and High German?) by *ei*? It must be at least very like our (æi), if not quite identical with it.

4. Fourthly, a Welsh writer, nearly a century before Gil's time, Salesbury (1547), gives very distinct evidence as to our long *i*, writing various English words—*I*, *vine*, *wine*, *dīches*, *thine*, *signes*—in a manner which, as Mr Ellis admits, and as educated Welshmen have confirmed to me, indicates to a modern Welshman no other sound than (æi). And it must be remembered that if Salesbury wanted to express the sound of (æi), he had apparently no other or no better way of doing it than by writing *ei*, as he did. And just as Salesbury, mindful of his Welsh alphabet, regarded *i* as the proper representative of (ii), so both Hart and Gil, men acquainted with foreign languages, to which they repeatedly appeal, looked at our mode of writing from a foreign point of view, and sought to conform it, if possible, to the continental pattern. They therefore of set purpose

reserved *i* or *ï* for the sound of (ii), and supposing they required to represent (əi), how could they have done it better than Hart did with (ei), in his *steil, weiz, weizdum, prezentlie, enterpreiz*, &c., or than Gil did with his *j*, in *wjff, chjld, wjz, eksidingly*, &c.? Whether this was an ancient sound or one newly invented in the 16th century, having been utterly unknown in all the languages of mankind till that age, if it needed to be expressed by a distinct written symbol, it is hard to say how that could have been better done by men who assigned to the symbol *i* a different function.

Of these Grammarians Salesbury seems to me to furnish evidence so clear and cogent that apart from the necessities of theory no doubt whatever would be entertained that he heard the English *I, vine, thine, wine*, as (əi), (vəin), (dhəin), (wəin).

5. Still earlier than Salesbury we have Palsgrave (1530) expressly affirming that *i* had two distinct sounds in French (“.ii. dyuerse maners of soundynges”), one of them like the Italian *i*, and like our sound of *e* in *bee, bier, peer, fee*; the other, found only at the beginning or end of a French word, being like the English *y* in *by and by, spy, fly, awry*. I have given proof elsewhere¹ that this *y* expressed the same sound as was also written with *i*: indeed this is not disputed. What then was that sound? Mr Ellis believes it to have been (ii)—the prolonged sound of the English *i* in *pit*. But in what language does the sound exist? In none that I know of: certainly not in English or German, except when in singing the short vowel of *pit, pin, will*, is unnaturally and with difficulty spun out; certainly not in French, where the sound, long or short, is unknown. The French sounds are (i), (ii), and commonly a shade thinner than in the English *peat, peel, seen*; indeed I doubt whether you can find a Frenchman, even one who has lived thirty years in England, whom a keen ear could not detect in a moment

¹ E. E. P., § 14.

by his inability to pronounce *pit*, *pin*, *will* in our English mode: he makes them (pit), (pin), (wil).

Moreover that (ii) suits the English organs of speech as little as the French or German may be judged by the manner in which a boy will shout out *Teddy* or *Harry*, prolonging the sound for the sake of emphasis: he says (tedee'), (hæree'); not (tedii'), (hærii'); for the simple reason that these words are unpronounceable.

It will be objected that the sound of (æi) is equally unknown in French. But—for I am not contending for the exact classical English (æi), even if any two persons utter this with absolute identity of sound—(ai) does exist in French; and this (ai) is just as near to our (æi) as the (ii) of *peat*, *steel*, to that of *riche*, *ville*: it only "exiguum distat" as Gil said of *aye* as compared with the *i* of *thine*. But where is (ai) in French? We get it precisely in the ordinary French pronunciation of *trahison* and *hair*, and in the vulgar Parisian *aïder* for *aider*.¹ But here, it will be objected, we have the written *a*; nevertheless it proves my point that the sound exists, while that of (ii) does not. And in provincial French even words written with the simple vowel, as *joli*, "at Montebourg, only 15 miles S.S.E. of Cherbourg,"² are even now sounded with (ai) as *jolai*. Of this fact Mr Ellis furnishes very explicit evidence, though he himself is not satisfied with it. And combining this evidence with that of Palsgrave, we may assert this (ai), or perhaps some sound even nearer to (æi), or perhaps (æi) itself, to have existed early in the 16th century in *by* and *by*, *spy*, *fly*, *awry*, and the whole class of words represented by these.

But suppose it so, may not the sound even then have been (ii) in Chaucer's time, and have changed during the more than two centuries that elapsed between Chaucer and Palsgrave? Let us examine the elaborate argument by

¹ It may be said that in *trahir*, *hair*, &c., the *a* and the *i* are sounded separately: but they are not at all more separate to my ear than in the English *aye*.

² Ellis's E. E. P., p. 297 and 458, note: see also p. 460.

which Mr Ellis undertakes to prove that Chaucer's long *i* was (*ii*).

The objection that this (*ii*) is not a true English sound, nor a sound known to any language of my acquaintance, is one that I will not further dwell on; but must observe the remarkable result at which Mr Ellis has arrived in supposing that our language in the 14th century had, as to its vowels, such a curiously defective alphabet. In his *Key to Palæotype* Mr Ellis recognizes in ordinary modern English 27 vowels and diphthongs; but in Chaucer—though he has no scruple about refining, or (shall I say) phonetic hair-splitting—he allows only 16 altogether, of which 7 are still in use, 9 are unknown in modern English. Has the whole genius of our spoken language altered during these 500 years, while all the other languages have undergone changes both slight and slow? It is hard to obtain exact information about our modern dialects of English, but I find Dr Murray recognizes 22 vowels in the Southern dialect of Scotland, while Mr Elworthy, assisted by Mr Ellis, Dr Murray, and Mr Sweet, discovers no fewer than 41 in the dialect of West Somerset. Yet Chaucer has only 16, of which only (*aa*), (*ee*), (*e*), (*i*), (*uu*), (*u*), and (*ai*) survive—the last in one word only, *aye* = yes. Of the 20 omissions, if we compare Mr Ellis's theoretical Chaucer with modern English, the most notable, not to mention the diphthongs (*ai*), (*oi*), (*ou*) and (*iu*), are (*ee*), (*oo*), (*ΛΛ*), and, strangest of all, (*ii*), with the short vowels corresponding to these. But as in one or two places (pp. 280 and 284) Mr Ellis seems to slur over the distinction between (*ii*) and (*ii*) as hardly essential to his argument, let his case have the benefit of the doubt, and let us see why we must believe *i* to have an (*i*) sound in the 14th century.

The evidence which Mr Ellis derives from exceptional rhymes, simply on the principle that Chaucer and Gower had no imperfect rhymes, must be unceremoniously set aside: the principle, as I showed in the early part of this paper, is false, and the evidence falls to the ground. Such

rhymes as *list best*, *abridge allege*, *yet wit*, occur in our poets of every age—inexact in every case, and proving precisely nothing.

Then again, in words of French derivation terminations that contained *i* were in French sounded with (i) or (ii), and “it would be difficult to suppose that Chaucer, who was familiar with French, and in the spirit of the times as shewn by the contemporary practice of Gower, was introducing it into English, could have changed the French sound.” I will not repeat here what I have said elsewhere¹ as to the tendency of all nations, ourselves by no means excepted, to assimilate foreign words to more familiar forms, as is still done in West Somersetshire and doubtless in every part of England. We constantly anglicize: always have done so: if Chaucer did otherwise with French words, he acted contrary to the national custom, as well as to his own practice in regard to other proper names, witness *Alisaundre*, *Pruce*, *Ruce*, *Lettow*, *Gernade*, *Algezir*, *Galice*,² which are neither the native names of places nor the French forms of those names, but anglicized pronunciations, as much as (madii·re), (sher·i), (døndzhuu·en), (mek·sico), are now.

When Mr Ellis says he “cannot force himself to suppose”³ the *i* in these words ever to have been sounded as

¹ E. E. P., p. 64.

² i. e. probably (alisan·di), (pruus), (ruus), (let·ouu), (dzher·naad), (al·dzhəzəir), (galəis·). The final *e* not to be sounded. It is impossible to believe with Mr Ellis that Chaucer’s poetry contained 70 per cent of weak rhymes.

³ As to this form of argument I may with equal justice urge that “I cannot force myself to suppose” the *e* in *here* to have been anything else than (ii), or the *i* in *wine* and *ey* in *they* anything else than the (əi) and (eei) which they are at this day. Such an argument is of course an appeal to the general impression produced by long continued study of a subject. But I too, as well as Mr Ellis, have been engaged for many years in these investigations, having given “Readings from Chaucer” before the Plymouth Institution as early as October 21st, 1858, and having exchanged letters on the subject a year or two earlier still with my old friend and schoolfellow the present Prof. of A.S. to the University of Oxford; and the general impression which I have received is *exceedingly strong* in favour of the very slow changes of spoken language. See my E. E. P., pp. 117, 118, footnote.

(æi), not only is he, in regard to some of these words, speaking in plain defiance of Salesbury's (not to say Palsgrave's) authority, but with equally little ceremony he sets aside that of Butler, Gil, and Hart. Mr Ellis objects to the long *i* in the termination of *superlatif*, *motif*, *inquisitif*; but even as late as 1633 Butler gives *indicative* as the correct sound, and Gil (1621) gives *kaitjv* the *j* = (æi), as Mr Ellis admits,—and Hart speaks of *míseiv* letters. Mr Ellis objects to *rîche*, but Gil writes *rjch*, as the vowel is long also in Dutch and German. In like manner Gil, in perfect agreement with Palsgrave, gives *enemj*, *maladj*, *adulterj*, *mizerj*, *konstansj* (notwithstanding the accent on the first syllable in ordinary conversation, he takes pains to tell us¹), and pure English words in like manner, as *everj*, *opnlj*, and *-lj* always where we now have the short (-li); and in this he is supported by Hart (1569). Gil, however, tells us the usage as to some of these words varied in his time: the vowel was long or short.

Another argument is based on the shortening of (æi) into (i): how can we explain that (sivilæiz) gives (sivilizee'shen) "except on the theory that (i) was the original normal sound?" I fail to see the difficulty. The (æi) is shortened into (i) quite irrespective of such a theory, simply by dropping the first element in the diphthong and shortening the remaining one. Precisely so when, throwing back the accent, we change *Newfound'land* into *New'-foundland*, the *found* becomes (fund) or (fend), the first part of the diphthong disappearing altogether.

Again, an appeal is made to the naturally short vowel in *India*. But our poets, true to the instincts of the nation, anglicized the word, and (æind) resulted. Mr Ellis quotes from Chaucer rhymes of this word with *find* and *kind*, and in Allit. Poems, p. 3, we have it rhyming with *blind*; and we have the evidence of the Ormulum for

¹ "Numerus poeticus paroxytonis [proparoxytonis?] in *i* sæpe ultimam productam acuit; ut *mizerj*, *konstansj*, *destinj*; unde etiam in prosa fere obtinuit ut ultimâ vel longâ vel brevî æqualiter scribantur & pronuncientur, non acuantur tamen."

the long vowel in all of these words. Moreover in Allit. Poems, *ibid.*, *ynde* rhymes with *schynde*, preterit of *scynen* = (shəin'en) as I still believe, but which no one can imagine to have been (shin'en).

Then there are rhymes with Latin words ending in *i*, and it is argued that "it is difficult to suppose that Latin was at that time so mispronounced as to have *i* called (ei). The Roman Catholic tradition must have saved this heresy." I have shown in my book (§ 89) that this Roman Catholic tradition had no existence; and it is precisely this vowel in reference to which Lipsius declared that the Britons stood almost alone.

6. And this leads me to observe, dismissing Mr Ellis's work for the time, that it is too commonly taken for granted that the Latin and Greek long *i* was universally (ii). I will not again quote the authority of Lipsius, nor that of Mekerch,¹ nor repeat (see my E. E. P., p. 18, note) what Sir Thomas Smith wrote about the Englishman's being able to converse with the Lombards in Latin, though he could not with a Frenchman. Just as in modern Germany there are different pronunciations existing side by side—(māin wāin) and (miin wiin),—so it may well have been the case in ancient Italy; and as inscriptions have been found in various parts of Italy, in which the long *i* is represented by *ei*, this mode of writing affords at least a presumption that the mode, or at any rate one mode, of sounding the letter was as a diphthong. Two letters were exhibited to the eye, and those who first thus wrote *ameicus*, *preimus*, &c., did so most probably because they had two closely combined sounds to express by the two letters; and it can be no matter of surprise if this particular combination was deemed suitable 2000 years ago to indicate that very sound which it indicates in modern Dutch and German and (in a few instances) in English.

¹ *I* longum antiquis Romanis proferebatur ut hæc diphthongus *ei*, hoc est *ei*, et *e* inclusum habebat.

And now for that "ray of light from ancient Greece" which has afforded so much amusement to my German critic and others. I will endeavour to state my argument more perspicuously.

Two of our English *i* words are found in almost all the modern Teutonic languages, pronounced in some with (ii), in others with (æi), and are also found both in Latin with its derivative languages and in ancient and modern Greek. Some suppose that one of these words is not indigenous to the Teutonic languages, but borrowed from the Latin, which however does not affect the argument, as the word is found in the earliest literature of, I believe, all the Teutonic races. The words are *wine* & *wike*,¹ which have a diphthongal sound in English, Dutch, and High German, but have the pure (ii) in Platt-Deutsch and Icelandic, as well as in Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese.² But what was the sound in Greek? I answer, a diphthong: not the pure vowel. Nothing is more improbable than that the *ou* of *οἶνος* was a pure vowel, though it is (ii) in Modern Greek. But it may be said that in *οἶνος* and *οἶκος* the *o* is only a modification of the original digamma. I might reply by falling back on the authority of Immanuel Bekker, in whose edition of Homer these words are always given with both the digamma and the

¹ Still found in the names of *Wyke* and *Heckmondwyke* near Bradford, *Wyke Regis* near Weymouth, *Wyken* near Coventry, *Wykeham* near Scarborough, and *East Wykeham* near Louth in Lincolnshire, in all of which the *wyke* is sounded with the long vowel, as in *like*, *dike*, *Mike*. (I am indebted to the courtesy of the clergy of these parishes for this information.)

² In Mæso-Gothic the words are written *wein* and *weihs*, the spelling of which might seem to indicate a diphthong, the (i) sounds being represented by *i*, or occasionally *ī*. But Ulphilas borrowed his alphabet mainly from the Greeks, and the frequent interchange of *ι* and *ει* in Early Greek MSS. shows that before the age of Ulphilas *ει* had already approached, if it had not even fully adopted, the sound of *ι* (ii) which it still has in modern Greek. Yet it is important to remember that the Western Germans received their religion and civilization from the West (not from Constantinople, as the Goths of Mæsia did), and therefore also the Latin alphabet, not that which Ulphilas had formed on a Greek basis. Hence, even if the M.G. *ei* was (ii), this furnishes no ground whatever for supposing that the High German *ei* was ever (ii).

o—*Φοινος*, *Φοικος*. I have preferred looking for older authority, and have found it, at least reference to the latter word—*οἶμος*, *Φοικος*.¹ In one of the most ancient inscriptions given by Boeckh we have TAN FOIKIAN, and this evidence is confirmed by that of other inscriptions, seeming to leave no doubt that the *F* in such words was not followed by a pure (ii). Thus we have several centuries before Christ in Italy (wiik) and (wiin)—perhaps other forms also—and in Greece some approximation to (wæik) and, judging from analogy, (wæin), just as we have when we compare the Platt-Deutsch and the Hoch-Deutsch at the present day; and thus is shown the doubtfulness of that premiss from which such far-reaching conclusions have been drawn, that words commonly written with *i* in Southern Europe *must* have been in their earliest form sounded with nothing but (ii).

Those at any rate who contend that the class of words we are at this moment dealing with had (ii) for their vowel, have this fact to account for, that at least one important and probably typical word of this class had a diphthong in the earliest Greek we know.

To myself it seems probable that at that distant period when the ancestors of Teutons, Latins, and Hellenes all dwelt side by side, they had words in common which even then varied in pronunciation, some saying (wiin) and (wiik) with the pure (ii), while others sounded the words with (æi) or some similar diphthong; but I frankly admit that the reasons assigned fall far short of demonstration. But if we limit our view to these recent centuries, in which we find Salesbury writing *wine*, &c., with the Welsh *ei*, and Palsgrave expressly asserting that *spy*, *fly*, &c., were *not* sounded with the Italian *i*, and if we further reflect that the little more than a century that elapsed between Chaucer and those two writers was wholly insufficient to

¹ I am not at all satisfied with Cleasby and Vigfusson's opinion that the Latin *vicus* and the O.N. *víc* were entirely different words. The only difficulty is to show the connexion of meaning; but Bosworth does this, helped by the Du. *wijk*.

admit of so great a revolution in our language as the universal change of (ii) into (əi); we certainly have here weighty reasons for believing that Chaucer's *mine* and *thine* were also sounded with the Welsh *ei*, that is to say with the (əi) which is their recognized sound now.

III.

I pass on from the arguments by which I seek to show that words written with *i* were not necessarily, and were not in fact, sounded with (ii), to come to my third proposition. More fully expounded it is this. Supposing it proved that in Chaucer *here* was not sounded like *there*, and that the latter of these was sounded with (ee), it is at least plausible to assert that the former was sounded with (ee). That is what I shall endeavour to disprove.

But first of all, inasmuch as most people are not conscious, as Mr Melville Bell has justly remarked, that when they sound the word *fate*¹ they are sounding a diphthong, and inasmuch also as the pure (ee) is scarcely known to our language, and inasmuch as I utterly despair of our being able with the best phonologic telescopes to discern such minute distinctions through the haze and mist of five long centuries, I shall assume the right to speak under this head of the vowel in *aerial*, *ailing*, *fate*, *day*, *whey*, *weigh*, &c., however spelt, and with no attempt to distinguish these. This sound, I contend, did not belong to *here* and the whole class of words rhyming therewith, inasmuch as it was habitually represented by *ai* or *ei*. And as it is an admitted fact that in Chaucer these digraphs represented one and the same sound, I undertake to prove that that sound was the (ee) or (eei) or (eei) of *aerial*, *ailing*, &c.

1 and 2. This is not a case in which English and French tradition are opposed, as they are about *i*. The French *aimer*,² *retraite*, *Seine*, the English *day*, *whey*,

¹ Mr Ellis writes (*feet*) on p. 4, (*feeit*) on p. 272. Surely the latter is more correct. Sophocles gives the very word as $\phi\acute{\epsilon}i\tau$.

² I am aware that *aimer*, &c., sound the *ai* or *ei* as *è* rather than

remain, and many words common to both languages, as (*veen*), (*pleen*), all contain this sound, and afford at once a strong presumption that this was the ancient sound of the words thus spelt with *ai* or *ei*, as most of them have been for more than five centuries, in these languages, unless distinct proof of change can be adduced.

3. The words *swain*, *dey*, to die (not uncommon in Chaucer, rhyming with *say*, *pray*, *obey*), and *may*, a maid, are simply Old Norse words, or belong to the North Angle dialect which was close akin to Old Norse; and Icelandic tradition, coinciding with English and French tradition just quoted, gives us (*sweidn*), (*deei·ja*), (*meei*).

4. It is very common in Early French to find a simple *e* written for *ei* or *ai*, thus indicating the sound of these digraphs. Mr Payne has collected numerous examples of *e* for *ai* in Norman French,¹ but it is not confined to that dialect. In Joinville, for example, whose early education was with the count of Champagne, we find *jamez*, *fere*, *fet*, *fesoient*, *mes*, *lessen*, *mestre*, *mauvese*, *megre*, &c. And as to *e* where *ei* is the common form, a few examples are—*rene* (12th century), *vaine* and *voine* (13th), *veine* and *vaine* (14th), now *veine*; *treze* (12th), *treize* (13th); *seigle* (13th), *segle* (16th), now *seigle*; *seignur* (11th), *seigneur* (13th); *veant* and *veiant* (11th), now *voyant*; *neif* (11th), *nege* (14th), *neige* and *noige* (15th), now *neige*.

5. At least one example of the converse of this change of orthography is furnished by Rob. Glouc.'s form *Longespei* for *longue espée*.

6. Mr Payne has collected ample evidence that *e* and *ei* or *ai* stood for the same sound, in the rhymes of Early French poetry; *apres* rhyming with *relais*, *retraire* with *manere*, and so on.² And, though I would never lay stress on exceptional rhymes, we *haire* (= hair shirt) rhyming with *faire*; this *haire*, which is also written *here* in the

é, but in any case it is not *ê* like the *e* of our *there*. And see below, p. 44.

¹ Phil. Soc. Trans., 1868-9, p. 361.

² Ibid., p. 387.

Miracles St Loys as it is in Chaucer, being the same word as our *hair*, and the O.N. *hæra* (Haa'i-ra), which was formerly pronounced (Heer'a).¹

7. The grammarians, who however were all later than Chaucer, confirm the above results. Thus Meigret in his *Phonetic Grammar* writes *fes, james, lesser, plere, trere, teson* (= *taisons*), *reson*, &c., though with a differently shaped *e* from that which he uses in *succeder, amez, ajouté, preterit, escriuez*, the former being elsewhere called the "e ouvert," the latter the "e clos;" and Palsgrave describes the sound of *ei* (which, as I shall show immediately, is often the same thing as *ai* with him) in language unmistakeably plain; "the *e* shall have his distinct sound, and the *i* to be sounded shortly and confusely." How after this can there be any difficulty? A difficulty arises thus, (*a.*) from the fact that there existed also both in French and in English the sound of (*ai*), a far less common sound, and Mr Ellis has mistaken, as frequently, the exception for the rule; and (*b.*) from the second fact that our English long (*ee*) has a power of generating the sound of (*ai*), which has added to the confusion. On these points it will be necessary to dwell a little.

8. To deal with the first objection. I admit—indeed I have made use of the fact above—that the sound of (*ai*) existed in French. But to what extent did it prevail? Meigret gives only three examples—*haïr*, still so pronounced, and written with the puncta diæresis; *aydant*, which we are told is still trisyllabic in the mouth of an uneducated Parisian, and indeed the separate syllable of *aïder* can be accounted for by the early forms of the verb, such as the *ajudha* in the famous oath of Louis le Germanique; and *aymant*, a loadstone, derived, through the Prov. *aziman*, from *adamas*. Meigret, it is true, also writes *aye* as the subj. of *avoir*, but elsewhere he writes it with *ey*; and *aymer*, to love, he expressly says, though the spelling would point to the sound of (*a*), is sounded *eymer*.

¹ See Cleasby and Vigfusson's Dictionary, Introd., p. xxxv.

And what says Palsgrave? He evidently, like Meigret, thinks that (ai) is theoretically the true sound, and accordingly he describes the diphthong *ai* as sounded “*a* distinctly, and the *i* shortly and confusely.” But unfortunately he gives no examples with the rule. He recognizes *paÿs*, *ayde*, and *haÿr*, as having an *i* which “hath his distinct sounde by hym selfe;” and he tells us that futures in *-ray*, though written with *ay*, are sounded with *ey*. But his transliterations contain 27 words written with *ai* or *ay*, and a very unsatisfactory list it is. It contains eleven of the very words which Joinville’s orthography and Meigret’s Grammar and Mr Payne’s lists show to have been sounded with (ee) or (ee); yet Palsgrave leaves the same *ai* or *ay* as exhibiting the pronunciation. The eleven are *faict*, *laissé*, *aymer*, *j’ay*, *maulvais*, *paix*, *naistre*, *faisant*, *villayne*, *mais*, *vray*, and it seems probable that four others would follow the analogy of these, namely, *mondayne*, *vayne*, *souuerayne*, and *secretaire*. Eight others we may assert that Meigret would spell with *ei*,¹ *craindre*, *crainte*, *loingtain*, *ainsi*, *maintenir*, *depainctz*, *maint*, and *vainqueurs*: it seems not unlikely that these were sounded nearly as at present. There remain four others, *naufraige*, *eaige*, *plaige*, *oultraige*, in which there can be no doubt (ai) was the sound, from the explicitness with which he elsewhere describes this termination.² This short (i) is lost in modern French. The list contains no word such as *faillir*, *assaillir*, *bailler*, but in this class also it is clear³ that the sound was (ai), as it still is. But Palsgrave’s inexactness in transliteration is shown in his having given on the same pages two other words in *-age*, *aage* another form of *eaige*, and *courage*, in neither of which has he inserted the *i* in the French to be explained, and in only one has he given it in the form which is to explain the sound—*covraïge*.⁴ But what does this inexactness shew? This, I think:—that even in those words in which the (a) was radical, as

¹ See Ellis’s E. E. P., p. 118.

² Lesclarcissement, p. 8.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 56—64.

naistre from *nascor*, *paix* from *pax*, the habit of modifying this (a), when combined with (i) following it, into (ee) or (ee) was so thoroughly established in national usage and so familiar to the writer that it was the most natural oversight possible for him to leave these words unaltered, where a more painstaking and accurate writer, like Meigret, would have altered the symbol. Thus *mais* already expressed to the eye the true sound: therefore, though inadvertently, Palsgrave left it unaltered.

9. But again, having undertaken to disprove that *ai* and *ei* stood for (ai), I am obliged to indict Mr Ellis on the serious charge of utterly setting at defiance the authority of etymology. For let us look at some of the words given by Mr Ellis in Pt. II. of his work in the specimens of Chaucer's and Gower's pronunciation. We get here, first, of Latin origin—

<i>veyne</i>	from <i>vena</i>	now <i>veine</i>
<i>peine</i>	„ <i>poena</i>	„ <i>peine</i>
<i>Mawdeleyne</i>	„ <i>Magdalena</i>	„ <i>Madelaine</i>
<i>counseyl</i>	„ <i>consilium</i>	„ <i>conseil</i>
<i>disdeyn</i>	„ <i>dedignor</i>	„ <i>dédaigner</i>
<i>moneye</i>	„ <i>moneta</i>	„ <i>monnaie</i>
<i>veyl</i>	„ <i>velum</i>	later <i>voèle</i>
<i>Beneyt</i>	„ <i>Benedictus</i>	„ <i>Benoèt</i>
<i>streyt</i>	„ <i>strictus</i>	„ <i>estroèt</i>

besides *pleyn* from *plenus*, *deceive* from *decipio*, *receyve* from *recipio*, *preye* from *precor*, *ceynt* from *cingo*, *obeysant* from *obedire*, *feyne* from *tingo*, and several others, all of which Mr Ellis would sound with (ai), though they have no (a) in the Latin.

In like manner, of Teutonic origin—

reyn, A.S. *regn*
seyl, A.S. *segel*
seyn, to say, A.S. *secgan*
seyde, A.S. *sæde*
way = via, A.S. *weg*

ley, A.S. *lecgan*

ay = ever, O.N. *æ* = (ee)¹

and others, in all of which the pronunciation that I am objecting to gives the vowel as (ai), though there is no (a) in the earlier form, as also there is no (a) at the present day, and has been none for at least three centuries.

Now I am not going to affirm that the (ee) in these words could not become (ai): I shall prove lower down that it could. But there is another remark to be made. The words with a radical (a) have undoubtedly undergone a change at some period—our *plain* from *planus*, *maistre* from *magister*, &c.—a change² from (ai) to (ee), or (ee), or (eei), probably by passing through some intermediate stage or stages, as (aai), (ææi), (eei), (eei), (ee). If, then, this change took place, as I contend, *before* Chaucer's time, there is no necessity for supposing any great change at any time in the other class of words, namely, those with a radical (e)—*veyne*, *peyne*, *streit*, *obey*, &c., as indeed our Grammarians know nothing of any such change. If, on the other hand, we imagine with Mr Ellis that the (a) words retained their (ai) till *after* Chaucer—it being admitted and indisputable that these two classes were sounded exactly alike in his day—we cannot escape the conclusion that the (e) words underwent with marvellous rapidity a double change: they changed their (ee), or (ee), or (eei) into (ai) only to resume their original form in a hundred years or so. For instance; to take two words as representatives of two large classes:—*pleyne* from *plenus* was pronounced exactly like *pleyne* from *planus* in Chaucer's age: if the latter had already become (pleein), no further change need be imagined; if not, the former had to become (plain) only to go back to (pleein) by Palsgrave's time at latest; how much more rapidly still one cannot conjecture.

¹ See above, p. 37 and note.

² Illustrative of this change are the forms *caeine* (11th century), *chaaine* (12th), *chaene*, *chaane*, *caenne*, *caïne* (13th), *chayenne* (15th), *chaisne* (16th), now *chaïne*; yet the diminutive *chenette* appears as early as the 13th century.

Surely no sane man can believe this. Spoken language does not, never did, and never will "play such fantastic tricks before high heaven."

But I shall be told that Palsgrave and Sir Thomas Smith more than three centuries ago, and our provincial dialects now, attest the sound of (ai) in *ai* words. True to a certain extent; but this (ai) or (æi), whether heard in London or in West Somersetshire, is merely a corruption of (eei) or (eei), quite irrespective both of derivation and of spelling. The change has no regard to spelling. The Londoner who sounds (æi) will give it alike to *rein* and *rain*, to *lain* and *lane*, to *veil*, *vail*, and *vale*.¹ And derivation is equally a matter of indifference. It is so in the examples just quoted, and in Mr Elworthy's lists. In these there are three words in which (ai) may, it is barely possible, be the original sound handed down in unbroken tradition—*aa·yð* (aaid), *taa·yldur* (taail·dɹ), and *baa·y* (baai), from *aider*, *tailleur*, and Span. *bahia*; and some others have, according to my view, simply broadened out (ei) into (aai), as *bumbaa·y* (bæmbaai·) for *by* and *by*, *maa·y* (maai) for *my*, *smaa·yt* (smaait) for *smite*, and three or four more; but among the rest may be found side by side the two different classes of words to which attention has just been called, those, namely, with (a) in the root and those with (e). With a radical (a) we have *klaa·ym* from *clamo*, *hraa·y* from *radius*, *plaa·yg* from *plaga*, *Maa·y* from *Maia*, *paa·ylēen* from *palus*, *vaa·yn* from *vanus*; but these show no symptom of a stronger attachment to the (aa) than *vaa·yul* from *velum*, *saa·yul* from *segel*, *fraa·y* from *frigido*, *aa·ym* from *æstimo*, *hraa·yn* from *regn* or from *regno*, *vaa·yn* from *vena*. The reasonable conclusion seems to be that all these words, having the same sound now, reached it from a common starting-point in (ee) or (eei). The change is then very simple, the different stages being (eei), (eei), (ææi), (aai),

¹ I remember being puzzled several years ago by a London boy who gave me his name as (læin). I asked him whether he spelt it with *i* or *y*. Neither, he said, but (æi). After a while, but not without difficulty, I found out that the name was *Lane*.

merely reversing the order of the process just now supposed in the case of *planus* and *magister*.

10. Now this corruption had begun more than three hundred years ago. Out of Palsgrave's four examples of (ai)—*rayne*, *fayne*, *payne*, *disdayne*—the third¹ and fourth are from words which have no radical (a), so that the (ai) is an unquestionable corruption. And if we listen to Sir Thomas Smith we find—first indeed, which I may mention parenthetically, that he would mark only a “minima differentia” between *ai* and *ei* (see quotation, Ellis, p. 120), which seems to mean that one was (ææi) and the other (eei), so that the corruption was not so strongly marked as among the “rustici” against whom he inveighs,—and secondly that there was by no means a general agreement as to what words should be sounded with (ææi) and what with (eei). The very words which he would sound with (eei)—*fein*, *finger*, *deinti*, *delicatus*, *peint*, *pingere*, *feint*, *languidus*—“others,” he says, “sound and pronounce with (ææi): so indiscriminating are we English at any rate in the case of these two diphthongs.”² Just so there were others who pronounced all the *ai* words with *ei*. Like difference of usage is clearly evidenced by Hart and Gil's want of agreement as to common words. Now will not differences of dialect throw some light on this difficulty? Gil was a Lincolnshire man, Sir Thomas Smith a native of the extreme north of Essex; what more natural than they should condemn as mincing affectation the *ισχνότην*—Gil meant *ισχνότητα*—of the London pronunciation. It was no doubt as Head Master of St Paul's School that he was liable to be pestered by the fine ladies who—“aliquoties ad me pippiunt, *I pre ya gi yar skalerz liv ta plë*, pro *I prai you giv your skolarz leev tu plai* ;” that is, (øi preei je gi jæ skæl'erz liiv tɐ pleei) for (øi prææi ju giv jua skolarz leev tu plææi). But in the matter of

¹ Palsgrave, however, elsewhere writes *peyne*.

² Alii sonant et pronuntiant per *ai*, tam ἀδιάφοροι sumus in his duntaxat duabus diphthongis Angli.

pronunciation London has beaten both Lincolnshire and north Essex through the powerful influence of court and parliament, of law-courts and schools, and the incessant locomotion of the population. We do not now say (kææmbrik) which Gil approved but (keeimbrik), not (kææpn) but (keeipen), not (butsherz meet) but (butshaz miit), not (mææidz) but (meeidz), not (prææi) and (plææi) but (preei) and (pleei), not (leev) or (leev) but (liiv). And, so far as can be ascertained, Chaucer was a Londoner, and I believe therefore that the very pronunciation which Smith and Gil condemned was that which Chaucer used, and which had been preserved in the tradition of London speech in good society to the 16th century, as it has been to the 19th. But Gil's specimen of London pronunciation just quoted contains one peculiarity, not sanctioned by good usage, and yet surviving and very common in metropolitan speech—(tɜ pleei) for (tu pleei). It shows incidentally what I have again and again insisted on—the tenacity of life of all forms of spoken language.

11. It may be objected, however, that some of these arguments on the digraph *ai* or *ei*, if they prove that the sound thus represented was an (e) sound, yet do not decide between the open (ee) and the close (ee). True, but it will be observed that if the *e* in *there* and *where* was the open (ee), the *ai* or *ei* must have represented a different sound, or we should find such rhymes as *bere feyre, clene veyne*, &c., which we have (I think) nowhere. Then again, Icelandic tradition with its (swæidn), &c., affords unmistakeable evidence of the close vowel. So does English tradition except where an *r* following has opened (ee) into (ee). In the West of England you may still hear (dheer) and (veer), but elsewhere these words have assumed the open (ee), (dheer) and (feer). French usage is divided, *ai* and *ei* usually being (ee), as in *veine, aimer*, sometimes (ee), as in *saisir*; but Palsgrave's description of *ei*, "the *i* to be sounded shortly and confusely," and the spelling itself, can leave no doubt. For why should the written *e*

assume a following *i* unless to indicate, as in Icelandic and in modern English, either the thinning off of the end of the sound into (i), or that the whole sound was a vowel akin both to (e) and to (i), which imperfection of the alphabet afforded no better means of representing?

Briefly now to recapitulate.

I. It has been endeavoured in this paper to show that *here* and the words that rhyme with it were probably sounded in Chaucer's time with the same vowel as in the present day; 1st, from prevalent English traditional pronunciation; 2nd, by a perfectly independent argument from spelling, based on the analogy of *sheep*, *meek*, *teeth*, as compared with *heap*, *break*, *death*; 3rd, by an argument partly dependent on this last, the gist of which lies in an appeal to Sir Thomas Smith's assertion that the *e* in *sheep* was the *e Anglicum*, which also he expressly opposes to the *e Italicum*; 4th, from the traditional pronunciation and orthography of *hier* and *dier* in all the Teutonic languages; and 5th, by a like appeal to the traditional pronunciation and orthography of French words in *-ier* and *-iere*. And what is there to set against this mass of evidence from independent and widely different sources but the *assumption* that Sir Thomas Smith only betrayed his ignorance in his use of the term *e Anglicum*, and the wholly unproved surmise that a vast revolution had taken place in English spoken language during the two centuries that preceded him?

II. In order to show that *i* in Chaucer's time was diphthongal, possessing, or approaching, the sound that symbol still represents, 1st, the various English dialects have been cited as witnesses; and 2nd, the Dutch and High German pronunciation of many of the same words, as in English, have the long *i*; 3rd, the evidence has been adduced of grammarians and orthoepists both English and foreign, several of whom declare positively that our *i* in the 16th century was not the Italian *i*, while others expressly call it a diphthong; and 4th, it has been shown

that of the words now sounded with (əi) at least one of the most prominent was sounded with a diphthong in a kindred language some 2000 years ago or more.

III. To show that *ai* and *ei* = (ee), appeal has been made to the evidence, 1st, of English tradition; 2nd, of French tradition; 3rd, of Icelandic tradition; 4th, of French spelling in words like *jamez* for *jamais*; 5th, of one similar example from the English of Rob. Glouc.; 6th, of French rhymes such as *retraire* with *manere*; 7th, of the grammarians; while 8th, various objections have been dealt with; 9th, etymology has been shown to be utterly opposed to the idea that *ai* = (ai); 10th, certain discrepancies in the statements of grammarians have been shown to arise in all probability from dialectic variety of pronunciation; and 11th, reasons have been assigned for believing not only that *ai* and *ei* represented an (e) sound, but that it was not the open (ee) but the close (ee) for which they stood.

By the various arguments here adduced I hope to have proved, at least to some candid readers, that Chaucer did not sound the adverb *here* as (heer), but nearly or quite as we or our Dutch and German neighbours sound it at the present day. On this point, as on almost all his main conclusions, I still as firmly as ever believe Mr Ellis to be in error; yet I am very far from idly dreaming that I have escaped from error myself. This, at any rate, I may very confidently affirm, that this paper is an honest contribution to the study of Early English Pronunciation, and if the view here maintained can indeed be demonstrated to be erroneous, at least this good result will be arrived at, that *the truth*—for which alone honest men will contend—will be all the more satisfactorily settled on a secure and solid basis.

	fire, &c.	requere	swere	saphere	stere = ox	stere, v.	stere	parcuere	brere	refere, v.	offere	were	bachelor, &c.	manere, &c.	yeer	cleer	Chauntecleer	deere, adj.	deer, s.	sere	neer	here, adv.	here, v.	fere, ifere	appeere	peer	frere	spere	lere	beer	beer	pilwebeer	mere
fire [also fere], &c.	2	1				1								2	2			1			2	3	1	1					1				
re-, en-quere [or -ire]	2												1	3		1		2				1							3				
swere, s. [or -ire]	1																	1															
saphere, Fr. safir																														1			
stere = ox																			1														
stere, v. = steer	1													3	2			1							1					1			
stere = steersman													1	2				4				1	1			1	1				1		
parcuere																													1				
brere																											1						
refere, v.														1																			
offere																					1												
were = doubt													3	2	1			1			1	2				1							
bachelor, &c.		1					1					3	67	13	12	6		6	5		16	23	2		1	5	3			4	1	1	
manere, &c.	2	3				3	2			1		2	13	66	10		101		1		3	48	76	27	2	1	18	2	12		4		
yeer												1	12	10		1		3			3	7	5	2		1	1		1				
cleer	2	1				2							6		1			19			1	5	12	4	2			3			1		
Chauntecleer																										1				1			
deere, adj.	1	2	1			1	4					1	6	101	3	19					1	32	36	11	6	3	6	4	7		3		
deer, s.					1								5								1					1							
sere = O.N. sér														1									1										
neer	2										1	1	16	3	3	1		1	1			4		2	2								
here, adv.	3	1					1					2	23	48	7	5		32			4	21	10	3	2	3	2	6			1		
here, v.	1						1						2	76	5	12		36		1		21		8	3	3	2	1	13		3		
fere, ifere	1													27	2	4		11			2	10	8		1			1			1		
appeere							1					1	2		2			6			2	3	3	1									
peer, compeer							1					1	5	1	1		1	3	1			2	3			1					1		
frere							1		1				3	18	1			6				3	2			1			1		1		
spere, emispeere														2		3		4				2	1	1									
lere = learn	1	3						1						12	1			7				6	13				1						
beer = tulit				1		1							4				1																
beer = bier							1						1	4		1		3				1	3	1		1	1						
pilwebeer													1																			1	
mere = sea																																1	
leere, s.																1																	
ere, v. = plough																																	
ere, s. = ear		1														1						1										1	
ere, adv.																																	
affere																																	
teere, s.		1													4																	2	
tere, v. = lacero																																	
shere, v.																																	
shere(s), s.															1																		
answere																																	
mere = mare																																	
powere																1	1																
hindere, v.																																	
Jupiter													1																				
menyver																																	
dere, v. = harass																																	
bere, v., forbear																																	
bere, s. = ursus						1																											
were = gero																																	
tappistere, &c.																																	
millere, &c.						1							1										1										
where														1	1	1																1	
there		2				1						1	2	2	3	1		1					2	1							1		
were from be	1	1				1						1	2	4	2			2				3	5	3			1			5	2		
were = weir																																	
her, s. = hair															3																2		
feere, s. = timor		3																				1								1		1	
fer = far																																	
Fynystere																																	
seurere = surer																																	
grammeere														1																			
swere, v.																																	
spere = hasta																																	
here = her																																	
geere									1						2																		
fumetere																																	
dower																																	
debonaire																																	
ware, stare, &c.													1																				
were = defend																																	

[illegible]

XII.

DR JOHN KOCH

ON

1. AN ORIGINAL VERSION OF THE "*KNIGHT'S TALE*."
2. THE DATE AND PERSONAGES OF THE "*PARLAMENT OF FOULES*."
3. "*QUEENE ANELIDA AND THE FALSE ARCYTE*."
4. *a.* LOLLIUS.
b. CHAUCER, AND BOCCACCIO'S *DECAMERONE*.

Appendix. Prof. Scherk's Date of the Canterbury Journey, englished from Herrn Hertzberg's "*Canterbury-Geschichten*," 1866 ; with a note, showing why it's wrong, by Mr Skeat.*

* Prof. Adams, the great Cambridge astronomer, has kindly promised to give us his opinion on the point.

PREFATORY NOTES.

THE following essay originally appeared in "*Englische Studien*," a periodical edited by Dr Eugen Kölbing of the University of Breslau, 1 bd. 2 heft, p. 249-93, Heilbronn, 1877. At Mr Furnivall's request I have englished it, and his kind advice and assistance—for which I return him my best thanks—have enabled me to give the reader an intelligible translation. The present version of the essay is, however, rather a free adaptation from the former one, than a literal reproduction, several additions having been made to give the English student a peep into the investigations of my countrymen concerning his great poet Chaucer. In other places I have altered my own words in order to strengthen the arguments, or I have omitted a sentence which I thought superfluous. I have also introduced a new title for the last two sections of the essay, which in the original are not separated from the preceding one. But the tenor of the whole paper has remained quite unchanged.

My greatest reward for englishing this little work will be, to find that it has helpt in some degree to strengthen the good relations between the English and the German Chaucerian, by which alone our common work can thrive.

London, October, 1877.

DR JOHN KOCH.

ARGUMENT.

I. ON AN ORIGINAL VERSION OF THE "KNIGHT'S TALE."

Prof. Ten-Brink shows some fragments extant from an original *Palamon and Arcite*.—His researches continued by me: The description of the temple of Venus in the *Assembly of Foules* appears to be an almost unmodified piece of the *Palamon and Arcite*. The descriptive parts of the *Knight's Tale*, especially those of the temples of Mars and Diana, the Prayers and Speeches, are only modified from the *Palamon and Arcite*, which was in stanzas, for the sake of the new couplet verse. Chaucer himself inserted certain stanzas from the *Teseida* into his *Troilus and Cressida*.

II. ON THE DATE AND PERSONAGES OF THE "PARLAMENT OF FOULES."

From internal evidence the *Parlament of Foules* cannot be reckoned among Chaucer's earliest productions. It must have been composed after *Troilus and Cressida*, about the year 1381. In this same year King Richard II.'s embassy is sent to Germany to woo Anne of Bohemia. The personages alluded to in the poem are Princess Anne, King Richard, and two German princes.

III. ON "QUEEN ANELIDA AND THE FALSE ARCITE."

Queen Anelida and the False Arcite seems to have been composed before the *Canterbury Tales*.

IV. a. ON CHAUCER'S USE OF "LOLLIUS," AND NON-USE OF BOCCACCIO'S NAME. b. ON CHAUCER AND BOCCACCIO'S DECAMERONE.

A new suggestion for Chaucer's having introduced the name of Lollius instead of Boccaccio's.—The influence of the *Decamerone* on Chaucer denied.

APPENDIX.

Prof. Scherk's Date of the Canterbury Journey englished from Herr Hertzberg's "*Canterbury-Geschichten*."

I.

ON AN ORIGINAL VERSION OF THE KNIGHT'S TALE.

ONE of the most interesting questions about Chaucer's poetical works is undoubtedly, how far he is indebted to Boccaccio, in his use of that Italian poet's *Teseida* for his own *Knight's Tale*. As the results of Prof. Ten-Brink's researches on this point are scarcely known to the English Chaucerian, and as this present essay starts where the learned author of the *Chaucer-Studien* left off, I think it absolutely necessary to begin by giving a summary of the most striking passages of Prof. Ten-Brink's important work relating to this subject.

After some polemical remarks against his predecessors in this investigation,—Messrs. Tyrwhitt, Sandras, Ebert, Hertzberg, and Kissner,—Prof. Ten-Brink, instead of entering into the general question, whether Chaucer, before writing the *Knight's Tale*, had written another and closer translation of the *Teseida*, proposes this query (*Studien*, p. 47): “Had the original *Palamon and Arcite* (supposing such a poem ever really existed) the same metrical form as the *Knight's Tale*?” “If we can prove,” he continues, “that parts of a closer imitation of Boccaccio are extant than that in the *Canterbury Tales*, it will easily follow that the whole poem to which those parts belonged was originally written in the same style. The favourite metre of Chaucer, the 7-line stanza, would be the most near to the Italian stanza, and therefore in it Chaucer would be most likely to write a more literal translation of the *Teseida*, if he wrote one at all.”

The fragment of *Quene Anelida and the False Arcite*, says Prof. Ten-Brink, bears, as every Chaucer student knows, a striking resemblance to the *Knight's Tale*, and chiefly in its opening lines. Here we find the same personages, Theseus, Hippolyta, Emilia, Creon, and Arcite, as in the *Knight's Tale*, although in the latter, Arcite has quite opposite characteristics to those ascribed to his namesake in *Quene Anelida and the False Arcite*; but after having introduced these folk to the reader, the poet leaves him in entire darkness about their fate, and their relations to the other story. So we must content ourselves with the small remainder, and try to make the best we can of it.

Now, comparing the beginning of *Quene Anelida*¹ and the *Teseida*, we shall see that the first three stanzas of each correspond surprisingly with each other, if we only alter the succession a little, and put the 1st stanza of *Quene Anelida* to the 3rd stanza of the *Teseida*, and the 3rd stanza of *Quene Anelida* to the 1st of the *Teseida*.

Quene Anelida, st. 1 :

O thou *fers* God of *armes*, *Mars*
the rede,
 That in thy frosty contré called
 Trace,
 Within thy grisly temples ful of
 drede,
 Honoured art as patroun of that
 place !
 With thee, Bellona, Pallas, full
 of grace !
Be present, and my songe con-
tynew and guye ;
 At my *begynnyng* thus I to the
 crye.

Quene Anelida, st. 2 :

For hit ful depe is sonken in my
 mynde,
 With *pitous* hert, in Englyssh
 to endyte
 This *olde storie*, in *Latyn* which
 I fynde,

Teseide I, st. 3 :

Siate presenti, o Marte rubi-
condo,
 Nelle tue *arme* rigido e *feroce*,
 E tu Madra d'Amor, &c.
E sostenete la mano e la voce
 Di me, che *intendo* i vostri effetti
 dire, &c.

Teseide I, st. 2 :

Chè m'è venuta voglia con
pietosa
 Rima di scriver una *storia*
antica,
 Tanto negli anni riposta e nas-
 cosa,

¹ I leave out here and henceforth "the False Arcyte."

Of quene Analida and fals Arcite,
That elde, which (that) al can
 frete and bite,
(As it hath freten mony a noble
 storie)
Hath nygh devoured out of our
 memorie.

Quene Anelida, st. 3 :

Be favorable eke thou Polymnya
On Parnaso that with thy *sustres*
 glade,
By *Elycon*, not fer from Cirrea,
Syngest with vois memorial in
 the *shade*,
Under the laurer, which that
 may not fade,
And do that I my shippe to
 haven wyne :
First folow I Stace, and after
 him Corynne.

Che *latino* autor non par ne dica,
Per quel ch'io senta, in libro
 alcuna cosa, &c.

Teseide I, st. 1 :

O *Sorelle* Castalie, che nel monte
 Elicon *contente* dimorate
D'intorna al sacro gorgoneo
 fonte,
Sotesso *l'ombra delle frondi*
 amate
Da *Febo*, delle quali ancor la
 fronte
I' spero ornarmi sol che'l con-
 cediate,
Gli santi orecchi a' miei prieghi
 porgete,
E quegli udite come voi volete.

From the fourth stanza, Chaucer follows Statius in his *Thebais*, XII, 519-22, but deviates from him in the description of Theseus's returning home after the victorious war against the Amazons. So he omits altogether the remainder of the first book of the *Teseida*, but then, in his 8th stanza, after having extended the short "Fra tanto" of the 10th stanza in the II. book of the *Teseida* into a whole stanza, the 7th,¹ Chaucer again takes up the Italian original with an almost literal reproduction :

Quene Anelida, st. 8 :

Mars, whiche that thro his
 furious[e] course of ire
The olde wrethe of Juno to ful-
 fille
Hath [had] set the peples hertis
 bothe on fire

Teseide II, st. 10 :

Fra tanto Marte i popoli lernei
Con furioso corso avea commossi
Sopra i Tebani, e miseri trofei

¹ With his tryumphe / and laurer corovned thus,
In al the floure / of fortunes yevyng,
let I this noble prince / Theseus,
toward Athens / in his wey ryding,
and founde I wol / in shortly for to bringe,
the sley wey / of that I gan to write,
of quene Anelida / and fals Arcite

Of Thebes and Grece, [and]	Donati avea de' Principi percossi
everiche other to kille	
With bloody speres, restede never	Più volte già, e de' greci plebei
stille,	
But throng now her, now ther,	Ritenuti tal volta, e tal riscossi
amonge them bothe,	
That everyche other slough, so	Con asta sanguinosa fieramente
were they wrothe.	
	Trista avea fatta l'una e l'altra
	gente.

(9)

Teseide II, st. 11 :

<i>ffor</i> when <i>Amphiorax</i> / and	<i>Perciò che dopo Anfiarao, Tideo</i>
<i>Tydeus,</i>	
<i>Ipomedon</i> / <i>Partinope</i> also	<i>Stato era ucciso, e'l buon</i>
	<i>Ippomedone,</i>
<i>Wer</i> ded, and <i>slayn</i> / <i>proude</i>	<i>E similmente il bel Partenopeo,</i>
<i>Campaneus,</i>	
and when the wrecches / thebans	<i>E più Teban, de' qua' non fo</i>
bretheren two	menzione,
Were slayn / and kyng Adrastus	<i>Dinanzi e dopo al fiero Capaneo,</i>
home ago,	
so desolat stode thebes and so	<i>E dietro a tutti in doloroso</i>
bare,	<i>agone</i>
that no wight coude / remedie	<i>Eteocle e Polinice, ed ispedito</i>
of his care.	
	<i>Il solo Adrasto ad Argo era</i>
	<i>fuggito.</i>

After this there can be no doubt that Chaucer not only knew, but even translated, Boccaccio's poem when he composed his *Quene Anelida*. Now, supposing this poem to be one of Chaucer's early productions, it would be very strange if he had abruptly given up a work begun in such a pompous style. (That he never finished this poem, we know from the well known list of Lydgate (cf. Aldine edition I, 80), in which he mentions *Anelida* and *Arcite* only under the title of a "Complaynte," a name that he would never have applied to a finished epic poem.) And still stranger must it appear to us that a mere fragment should have survived more finisht productions, like the *Origines upon the Maudelayne*,¹ a first edition of *Palamon and Arcite*, and the *Boke of the Lyon*, which are entirely lost to us. Finally Lydgate, who has apparently much less knowledge of Chaucer's first-period works than

¹ One of Chaucer's very earliest bits of work, I believe.—F. J. F.

his later ones, does not quote *Palamon and Arcite* and *The Lyfe of seynt Cecile* as independent works, a fact which can only be explained by admitting that he never knew them in their original shape. It would be still more remarkable had Lydgate mentioned a fragment of still earlier date. The most natural way of reconciling all these contradictions with each other, therefore, is, to admit that Chaucer did not write *Quene Anelida* before his later age.

But while adopting this explanation, we must avow that a comparison between the opening stanzas of *Quene Anelida* and the first lines of the *Knight's Tale* gives rise to the impression that the former is the closer imitation of the original. This chiefly appears in those lines of the *Knight's Tale* (167—170, ed. Morris) which correspond with the 7th stanza of *Quene Anelida*. In the former poem those lines only say in a careless way that the author does not intend to give any details of Theseus's triumphal march; in the latter, they are indispensable as a transition from the introduction to the story itself. Hence follows that the seventh stanza, and consequently all the introductory part of *Quene Anelida*, are an older production than the beginning of the *Knight's Tale*. "But if the poem of *Quene Anelida* is of a more recent date than *Palamon and Arcite*—the opening of the fragment, however, having been written before the opening of the *Knight's Tale*,—it follows that the beginning of the original *Palamon and Arcite* must have been quite different from the present version, and surely must have been like the beginning of *Quene Anelida*. In a word, in the opening stanzas of *Quene Anelida* we possess a slightly modified fragment of the first edition of *Palamon and Arcite*."

These latter sentences, being the most important part of Prof. Ten-Brink's clever researches, I have reproduced them in a closer translation. For the present, I omit his next passage, because my own opinion on the subject differs in some points from his; but of this I shall speak directly.

To continue my account of his dissertation, I remark that in the pages following (57, etc.) he tries to restore the original reading in those lines of the above-mentioned introductory stanzas which have undergone some change in order to fit them for the new cast of the story. So he proposes, instead of reading :

Of quene Anelida and fals Arcite

to insert the following line :

Of Palamon and his felawe Arcite, etc.

Whether his conjectures always hit the mark, he doubts himself; but no matter: at least we learn that the alterations required are too insignificant to throw doubt on the result of his researches.

Besides the passage in *Quene Anelida*, continues Prof. Ten-Brink on p. 58, we have another remnant of the original *Palamon and Arcite*; there is another piece extant which must have formerly belonged to this poem. It is the passage in *Troilus and Cryseyde*, b. V, sts. 260—262, already pointed out by Tyrwhitt, in which Chaucer has inserted the first three stanzas of the xith canto of the *Teseide*, originally containing the famous description of Arcite's soul going to heaven. It is very easily shown, says the author of the "*Studien*," that these stanzas were not at first meant for the place in which they are now; and that consequently they must have once formed a part of the former edition of *Palamon and Arcite*. But as I have some words myself to say on this point below, I leave an exacter investigation into it for the present.

The result which we get from Prof. Ten-Brink's "*Chaucer-Studien*" is, in plain words, this: Chaucer, before composing the *Knight's Tale*, *Quene Anelida*, and *Troilus and Cryseyde*, had written a closer imitation of Boccaccio's *Teseida* production, in seven-line stanzas. The remains of this (his *Palamon and Arcite*) are the opening stanzas of *Quene Anelida*, and those on the hero's soul rising to heaven, in the *Troilus* (V. 150-2; ed. Morris, vol. v, p. 75-6).

Now my first question is: Are no more parts of the old *Palamon and Arcite* existing? I think I can point out some passages of the *Knight's Tale* and the *Parlament of Foules*, which are partly modified, partly original fragments of that poem.

Mr Henry Ward, in his marginal notes to the *Knight's Tale* in the Six-Text Print of the Tales for this Society, marks a number of lines as being a closer translation from the *Teseida*. Now, following these ticks, we shall find that the passages thus markt, in almost every case, contain descriptions, speeches, or prayers. Passing over some smaller likenesses, we come to the first extensive borrowing from Boccaccio, in lines 1028—1035 (according to Mr Morris's edition) of the *Knight's Tale*, corresponding with VII, 108—110 in the *Teseida*. They contain a description of the theatre in which the tournament between Palamon and Arcite is to take place; and although they cannot be called a translation, we find in them all the chief characteristics of the original. Compare

Chaucer, 1028.

The circuite ther was *a myle*
aboute,
Walled of stoon. — — — —
Round was the schap, in maner
of compass,
Ful of degré, — — — —
That whan a man was set in o
degré
He lettede nought his felaw for
to se.

Estward ther stood a gate of
marbul whit,
Westward such another in op-
posit etc. etc.

Teseide VII, 108.

Poco era fuor della terra nel lito
Il teatro *ritondo*, che girava
Un miglio, — — — —
Di marmo un *muro ritondo* si
levava
— — — — —
— — — ed aveva due entrate
Con forti porte assai ben lavorate.

109.

Della quali una *verso il sol*
nascente
Sopra colonne grandi era voltata,
L'altra mirava *verso l'occidente*
— — — — —
col mezzo aveva quasi un tondo
a sesta
— — — — —

110.

Nel quale scalee in cerchio si
movieno,
— — — — —
Con gradi larghi di petrina mire.

Sopra de'quali le genti sedieno
 A rimirare gli arenanti siri ;
 Ed altri che faccessono alcun
 gioco
*Sanza impedir l'un l'altro in
 nessun loco.*

The next passage of importance is the description of the temples built by Theseus on the tournament-field. But before entering into particulars, I think it necessary to remind the reader of Chaucer's deviations from the *Teseida* which Tyrwhitt has already pointed out in his "Introductory Discourse." Boccaccio begins his 7th book with a speech of Theseus, in which he declares the laws of the combat. "The day before the combat," Tyrwhitt continues, "Arcita, after having visited the temples of all the gods, makes a formal prayer to Mars. The Prayer, *being personified*, is said to go and find Mars in his temple in Thrace, which is described; and Mars, upon understanding the message, causes favourable signs to be given to Arcita. In the same manner Palemone closes his religious observances with a prayer to Venus. His Prayer, *being also personified*, sets out for the temple of Venus on Mount Cithere, which is also described, and the petition is granted. Then the sacrifice of Emilia to Diana is described; her prayer" . . . In the words following, Tyrwhitt does not give an exact account of the poem, for it is not, as he says, the "appearance of the goddess," but that of the attendants of Diana (*il coro di Diana*) that is spoken of by Boccaccio.

But now for Chaucer. He describes how the tilt-yard is arranged: three temples are built there, the one with certain pictures and ornaments is devoted to Venus; the other is consecrated to Mars (it is an imitation of the famous temple in Thrace, the god's favourite dwelling); the third, destined for the worship of Diana, is Chaucer's own invention. Then follows the solemn entrance of the heroes into Thebes (in which our poet, however, shortens considerably the pompous description of Boccaccio, written

to display his mythological knowledge, *Tes.*, b. VI.). Then, in the succession of the prayers, Chaucer makes an alteration in the different hours devoted to the different gods: First, Palamon goes to the temple to perform his religious rites; after him Emilia; and finally Arcite. But *these prayers are not personified*, because Chaucer has already described in another form the decorations of the temples, on which he seems to lay chief stress.

After this introduction I ought to compare the description of the temple of Venus in the *Knight's Tale* with that in the *Teseida*. But, as every Chaucer student knows, our poet has here only very loosely imitated the Italian poem, whilst we meet with a much closer translation of the same passage in *The Parliament of Foules*. When and why he may have made this insertion I shall discuss below. For the present, however, as I am chiefly interested in investigating how far Chaucer has closely followed Boccaccio, it does not matter to which poem the above passage belongs; and so I quite pass over these lines in the *Knight's Tale*, and call the reader's attention to the description of Venus's temple in the *Parlament of Foules*, l. 183, etc. Although an exact examination of this passage would be highly interesting, I think it will suffice to remind the reader that Mr Rossetti, in Mr Furnivall's *Trial-Forewords*, p. 60, etc., has settled this point by setting side by side Chaucer's and Boccaccio's stanzas, the latter in an English version. But Mr Rossetti omits a very important circumstance, viz. the wonderful coincidence of several words of Romance origin in Chaucer's lines with words of the same sort in the corresponding places of the *Teseida*. Thus we find

P. of F. l. 193 : The lytel <i>conyes</i> to her pley gunnen hye.	Tes. VII, st. 52 : Vide <i>conigli</i> in qua e in là andare.
P. of F. 197 : On <i>instrumentes</i> for strynges in acorde.	Tes. <i>ib.</i> st. 53 : Similmente qui vi ogni <i>stromento</i> .
P. of F. 214 : And welle hys doghtre <i>tempred</i> , al the while,	Tes. <i>ib.</i> st. 54 : Le qua' sua figlia Voluttade elette

The heddes in the welle.
P. of F. 219 : *Curtesye*.

Nell' onde *temperava*.
Tes. *ib.* st. 55 : *Cortesia*.

Parl. of F. 221, etc. :

Tes. st. 55 :

— — — — hath the myght
To doo *be force* a wyght to do
folye ;

— — — hanno potestate
Di fare altrui a *forza* far *folia*

Dysfigured was she, I shal not
lye :

Nel loro aspetto molto *isfigurato*

And by hym selfe, under an oke
I gesse

Della immagine nostra ; il van
Diletto

Sawgh I *Delyte*, that stode with
gentilnesse.

Con *gentilezza* vide star soletto

P. of F. 227 : *Fool-hardynesse*.

Tes. *ib.* st. 56 : il *folle Ardire*.

P. of F. 231 : I sawgh a *temple*.

Tes. *ib.* 57 : Di rame vide un
tempio.

Parl. of F. 239, etc.

Tes. *ib.* 58 :

Before the *temple* dore, ful
soberly

E all' entrata del *tempio* vicina
Vide che si sedeva pianamente

Dame *Pes* sate, a *curtyne* in hir
hande ;

Monna *Pace*, la quale una *cor-*
tina

And hir beside, wonder *discretly*,
Dame *Pacience* sittynge ther I
fonde,

Movea innanzi alla porta lieve-
mente :

With face *pale*, upon an hille of
sonde ;

Appresso a lei, in vista assai
tapina

And alder next, within and eke
withoute

Pacienza sedea *discretamente*
Pallida nell' aspetto, e d'ogni
part[i]¹

Behest and *Arte*, etc.

Intorno a lei vide *Promesse* [et
Arti]

Parl. of F. 249 :

Tes. *ib.* 59 :

— — engendered with *desire*

Focoso tutto di caldi *desiri* :

That maden every *auter* for to
brenne

Questi gli *altari* tutti allumi-
nava

Of *newe flawme*.

Di *nuove fiamme*, etc.

P. of F. 259 : *Garlondes* fulle of
fresshe *floures* newe.

Tes. *ib.* 60 : Di *fior* diversi assai
vide *grillandi*.

P. of F. 261 : *porter Rychesse*.

Tes. *ib.* 67 : Trovò *Ricchezza* la
porta guardare.

P. of F. 238 : *untressed*.

Tes. *ib.* 66 : senza *treccia* alcuna.

The exact imitation of Chaucer closes with the 66th stanza
of the *Teseida*, for in his 277th line he says :

And, as I seide, amyddes lay Cupide

which quite contradicts line 211, etc. :

Under a tree, besyde a welle, I say
Cupide our lorde hys arwes forge and fylle ;

¹ For the readings in brackets see the note in my essay in
" *Englische Studien*," p. 253, etc.

this being a translation of Boccaccio's st. 54 :

Tra gli albuscelli ad una fonte allato
Vide Cupido a fabbricar saette, etc.

Besides this instance, it may be observed that our poet in the following lines only reproduces the names that are found in the 61st and 62nd stanzas of the *Teseida*, omitting, however, all the details of his model. (*Trial-Forewords*, p. 65-6.)

We now go back to the description of the temple of Mars in the *Knight's Tale* (l. 1112, etc.), corresponding with *Teseida* VII, 30, etc. The beginning agrees very well with the original; and here also we find the same Romance roots in both the versions, as for instance :

Kn. T. l. 1124 : Marz <i>army- potente</i> .	Tes. VII, 32 : Dio <i>Armipotente</i> .
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Kn. T. 1124-25 : Of which <i>th' entre</i>	Tes. <i>ib.</i> Tutto di ferro era la <i>stretta entrata</i> .
--	---

Was long and *streyt*.

Kn. T. 1132 : The dores wer alle <i>ademauntz eterne</i> .	Tes. <i>ib.</i> : E le porte eran <i>d'eterno diamante</i> .
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Kn. T. 1135 : Every piler the tempul to <i>susteene</i> .	Tes. 33 : E le colonne di ferro <i>costei</i>
--	--

	Vide, che quel dificio <i>sostenieno</i> .
--	--

Kn. T. 1139 : The cruel <i>ire</i> , as rede as any gleede	Tes. <i>ib.</i> : Videvi l' <i>Ire</i> rosse, come <i>fuoco</i>
---	--

— — and eek the <i>pale</i> drede.	E le Paure <i>pallide</i> in quel loco.
------------------------------------	---

With l. 1147 Chaucer sets out for a walk by himself, no longer accompanied by Boccaccio, though now and then casting back a glance at him. So our comparison as to Venus's temple must here cease.

The description of the temple of Diana having, as I have already said, no parallel in the *Teseida*, we need not dwell upon it. But before proceeding with our comparison as to the other temples, let us stop a moment and see what conclusions we may draw from the above quotations and remarks.

The description of the temple of Mars bears so much the character of a passage remodelled from some other work, that the idea of its being a part of the old *Palamon and*.

Arcite, modified for the sake of a new metre, naturally occurs to us.

For, firstly, the beginning undoubtedly shows a certain want of perspicuity. Chaucer says: "Now I will tell you what decorations were in the temple of Mars, that was erected in the lists. Everything there, was an imitation of the frightful temple of the god which rises in the icy fields of Thrace. First there was painted on the wall a gloomy forest; and in this forest was that Thracian temple made of polisht steel and furnisht with gates made of diamond. First there appeared Treason, then cruel Ire, etc." But of which temple is he now speaking? Of the original, or of Theseus's imitation? There is no certain conclusion to be drawn from the words of the poet; undoubtedly a transition is wanting, perhaps in this sense: "There were in the building of Theseus the following paintings: Treason, cruel Ire, etc." Or did Chaucer invest his readers with the faculty of seeing a building from the inside and the outside at the same time? It is quite another thing with Boccaccio, who only speaks of the original temples, and does not introduce imitated ones at all. Further, there is some confusion in the words of this passage, which most likely is less the fault of the scribes than that of Chaucer's own manuscript. I allude to line 1159, with its famous "shippis hoppesteres," which still remain a riddle to etymologists. The same may be said of line 1167, to which none of the printed manuscripts seems to assign its proper meaning. Tyrwhitt's conjecture seems most probable: "Th'armourer and the bowier and the smyth," which reading Hertzberg has also adopted. Finally, there is a strange absurdity in line 1147, which, so far as I know, has till now escaped the research of other critics. Chaucer says, l. 1:

"The sleer of himself yet saugh I there,
His herte-blood hath bathed al his here,
The nayl y-dryve in the schode a nyght."

But how is it possible that any one could commit suicide

by hammering a nail through his own brain? Morris, who seems to have felt this nonsense, puts a semicolon after line 1148; but by doing so the next line becomes untenable; for a nail driven into a skull can scarcely be supposed to be the object of an independent picture.¹ A few lines from the Prologue of the Wife of Bath here occur to me. She says, line 765, etc.:

"Of latter date, of wyves hath he (sc. clerk Jenkyn) red,
That some han slayn her husbondes in her bed,
And som han dryven nayles in her brayn,
Whiles thay sleepe, and thus they han them slayn."

Now I suppose that Chaucer intended to produce in the *Knight's Tale* a similar picture, which indeed would have very well suited the whole of this description.² So we may admit here some other expression instead of the offensive "sleer of himself," as for instance:

"The sleer of her husbonde³ saugh I there!
His herte blood," etc.

like l. 1148 in the *Knight's Tale*. The suicide may have been described in some other verse, now lost to us.

But there is another circumstance which strengthens me in the opinion that we here have before us a passage only superficially modified from the old *Palamon and Arcite*. For it is most strange that the Knight, in describing the above-mentioned buildings, speaks in the first person, as if he had himself seen these buildings. So l. 1137: "Ther saugh I first;" 1147: "Yet saugh I there;" 1153: "Yet I saugh;" 1159: "Yet saugh I;" 1170: "Saw I." This would not surprise us if the poet had represented himself as telling us the story; but, as a matter of fact, the Knight is supposed to relate the whole to his fellow-pilgrims. To explain this mode of expression by

¹ It can hardly be justified by Metonymy, the deed, or instrument, for the doing and doers.

² I do not forget the earlier line referring to the Danaïdæ:

"The treasoun of the murtheryng in the bed."

³ Mr Furnivall's correction of my conjecture in the "*Engl. Studien*," p. 259.

assuming that the narrator is carried away by some higher impulse—so that he speaks in a kind of frenzy, as if he himself had seen all that glorious scenery—is scarcely allowable.¹ For in other passages—which give more scope for the display of a warrior's enthusiasm—as, for instance, that describing the tournament, our poet never drops the ordinary tone of story telling. In the description of Diana's temple we find the same peculiarity, the same "Ther saw I," etc., employed several times; so ll. 1198, 1204, 1207, 1215, etc., but not once in the description of the temple of Venus, where Chaucer stands in a different relation to his original. As we have seen before, he has here inserted a fiction of his own, only now and then reverting to his model. A closer imitation of this passage was no longer at his free disposal, since he had already made use of a more literal translation in his *Parlament of Foules*.

Looking again at this latter description, we again find (*Parl.* ll. 183, 224, 225, 231, 253, etc.) the same queer "I saw." Here, indeed, the narration in the first person is justified by the fact that the poet is describing a dream of his own; but overlooking this fact for a moment, we shall see the three descriptions, viz., those of the temples of Mars and of Diana in the *Knight's Tale*, and that of the temple of Venus in the *Parlament*, brought into a certain connection by the above-mentioned use of the first person. Now comparing the lines of the latter, in which this expression occurs, with the corresponding lines of the *Teseida*, we shall notice that "I saw," etc., nearly always seems balanced by a corresponding "vide," etc.; thus l. 183: "A gardyn sawh I" = VII. 51, "*vide* quello;" l. 190: "the briddes *herde* I synge" = *ib.*, 52; "*senti* . . . ucce' cantare;" 197: "Herde I so pley" = *ib.* 53: "le parve udire;" 211: "I say Cupide" = *ib.* 54:

¹ This difficulty is lessened by shifting the "I see" to the old *Palamon and Arcite*, because Chaucer was not, in that, making a Knight speak.

"Vide Cupido; Thoo was I war" = *ib.* 55: "E poi *vide*," etc., etc.

Chaucer, therefore, seems to translate very exactly his original's 3rd pers. sing. praet. by the 1st person of the same tense. The question remains whether he made this alteration when he had resolved to insert this piece into the *Parlament of Foules*, or whether it was in the old *Palamon and Arcite*. Comparing this passage with the other descriptions, it seems very likely that he had already made this change in his early version of the story.

But it may be objected that the Temple of Diana is an invention of Chaucer's own, and has no relation whatever to Boccaccio. Quite so: yet it is not improbable that he had already inserted this invention in his first edition, in order to make a better and more symmetrical arrangement of his tale. I believe, therefore, that this objection is too weak to overthrow my conclusions. And as this "I saw," so inconsistent with the present character of the Tale, is still to be met with in the recast of the poem, we may suppose that it was before, originally, in its first version. But there still remains an important question: is there any visible reason why Chaucer might have changed the Italian 3rd person, "*vide, senti*," etc., into the first person? To answer this, I can only propose some hypotheses. The most likely one, methinks, is as follows:—Boccaccio, as we have seen before, personifies the prayers, and then narrates how they visited the dwellings of the Gods, and what they saw there. This far-fetched mode of representation did not agree with the more realistic taste of Chaucer, and he had already altered it in his original *Palamon and Arcite* to something like that of the present version, *i. e.* he had described the temples as if he had seen them himself, and had thus the right to assume the first person. It may be observed at the same time that Chaucer often employs this mode of speaking in all his poems where he relates a dream or vision.

But if we admit—as I think we are obliged to do after the above researches—that the opening lines of the description of the temple of Mars in the *Knight's Tale* is a modification, in the new metre, of Chaucer's original version, we must also admit that the descriptions of the temples of Venus and Diana bear the same character. The former is retained in its old shape, the latter re-moulded into the heroic verse.

This assertion brings me into opposition with Prof. Ten-Brink's opinion, which he thus expresses on p. 128 of his '*Studien*.' "The stanzas imitated from the *Teseida* suit so closely and harmoniously the whole of the composition of the *Parlament of Foules*, that a later insertion is not to be thought of." It is not unlikely that the learned author of the above-mentioned work was partly led to this opinion by Chaucer's speaking here in the first person. But, as we have before seen, it is not at all impossible that this mode of expression was already to be found in the first *Palamon and Arcite*; and there is no need to suppose this passage underwent any special changes in order to fit it for insertion in the *Parlament of Foules*. For, without altering the metre, the literal translation of *vide, senti* = "She saw, she heard," might be turned into "I saw, I heard," etc. And except this expression, there is not one word, not one line, which would not be in its right place in the original *Palamon and Arcite*, as well as in the *Parlament of Foules*. I admit, very willingly, that the whole of this Temple-description fits so wonderfully into the *Parlament* that it would be hard to find out the joins. But what is the reason? The nature of this passage is just such as to fit it, without any change, for any poem treating of dreams and visions. Moreover, Chaucer's real deviations in it from his original, are quite of the same style as those in all his other poems,—a few additions, a few diminutions, some refinements, some coarsenesses; just as he likes, or as his metre requires.

But there is another bit of evidence for my assertion ; another fact which has till now escaped discovery ; and this is, that the 26th stanza of the *Parlament*, ll. 176—182, is taken from the *Teseida*. In the eleventh book, where the preparations for the funeral are described, Boccaccio enumerates the trees which are used for the pyre. He has translated this passage almost literally from Statius (*Thebaïs*, VI. 98, etc.). But Chaucer only follows the Italian poet in general features, though distinctly enough to shew whence he took his idea. Let the reader judge for himself :

Parlament of Foules, 176—182.

Teseide XI. 22.

The bylder *oke*, and eke the
hardy *asshe*,

— — — ed il *cerro* con esso.

Ib. 23.

The piler elme, the cofre unto
careyne,

E gli *orni* pien di pece, nutri-
menti

The book *pipe tree*, *holme* to
whippes lasshe,

D'ogni gran fiamma, e gli *lecci*
soprani

E'l *tasso* — — — — —

— — — — —

Ib. 24.

The saylynge *firre*, the cipresse
deth to pleyne,

Tagliato fuvvi ancor l'audace
abete

The sheter ewe, the aspe for
shaftes pleyne,

E'l *pin* similemente — — —

The olyve of pes, and eke the
drunken *vyne*,

— — — e d'ogni *vincitore*

The victor *palme*, the lauere, to,
devyne.

Premio la palma fu tagliato
ancora,

E l'olmo che di *viti* s'innamora.

The attributes Chaucer gives to the Trees, have indeed very little in common with those of the *Teseida*, but from it he evidently took his idea ; besides, the succession of the tree-names is quite the same ; and notably in the last line, “victor palme” agrees very well with “d'ogni vincitore premio la palma.” No expression like this occurs in Statius, nor any in the beginning for ‘*cerro* = oke,’ so that there is no probability in the assumption that Chaucer borrowed this passage directly from the *Thebaïs*. Further, we must not leave unnoticed that Chaucer was here compelled to make some alterations : first, because the circumstance that the trees were felled had to be omitted ; secondly, because a reproduction of three stanzas

containing a description of inferior importance would have been rather too much for a poem of the size of the *Parlament of Foules*. At the corresponding place in the *Knight's Tale*, l. 2061, etc., Chaucer passes over this description very quickly :

"How they (*i. e.* the trees) weren felde, shal nought be told for me," which words perhaps hint at his having translated this passage more exactly in some earlier poem, viz., in the *Parlament*.

The above stanza, then, is not to be considered as part of the original *Palamon and Arcite*, but, since it belongs to the last section of the *Teseida*, it shows that Chaucer had already finished the reproduction of the Italian poem when he lifted this piece and the description of the temple of Venus into the *Parlament of Foules*. And he must have done this after he had resolved to reject the original *Palamon and Arcite*. But for all particulars about this question, I must refer to my researches below. My present result is, that I claim the same right for the passage from ll. 183—276 (about) of the *Parlament of Foules* (from *Tes.* VII. 51—66) to be a remainder of the first cast of *Palamon and Arcite*, as Prof. Ten-Brink will only allow to the above-mentioned stanzas at the beginning of *Quene Anelida*, and near the close of *Troilus and Cryseyde* (p. 360-4, above).

After this digression, I return to my comparison between the *Teseida* and the *Knight's Tale*. The next section in which Chaucer exactly follows his original is the Prayer of Palamon. I shall here insert its most striking passages, in order to illustrate how our poet makes use of his model.

Knight's Tale, l. 1363, &c.	Teseide VII. 43 :
Fairest of faire, o lady myn	— — — — —
Venus,	O bella Iddea, del gran Vul-
Doughter of Iove, and spouse to	cano sposa
Vulcanus,	Per cui s'allegra il monte Citer-
Thou glader of the mount of	one,
Citheroun,	

For thilke love, thou haddest to
Adeoun
 Have pite on my bitter teeres
 smerte,
 And tak myn *humble* prayer to
 thin herte.

1369 :

Allas ! I ne have no langage for
 to telle
Th'effectes ne the tormentz of
 myn helle

— — — — —

1373 :

But mercy, lady bright, thou
 knowest wel
 My thought, and felest what
 harm that I fel,
 Consider al this, and rew upon
 my sore.

— — — — —

1380 :

I kepe not of *armes* for to yelp,
 Ne nat I aske to morn to have
victorie,
 Ne renoun in this caas, ne veyne
glorie
 Of pris of *armes*, blowyng up
 and doun,
 But I wolde have ful possessioun
 Of Emelye — — — — —

1386 :

Fynd thou the maner how, and
 in what wyse.
 I recche nat, but it may better be,
 To have victorie of him, or he
 of me,
 So that I have my lady in myn
armes

— — — — —

1323 :

Thy *temple* wol I worshipec
 evermo,
 And on thin *auter*, wher I ryde
 or go,
 I wol do *sacrifice*, and fyres beete.

[*Humil*] ti prego che [a me]
 sia piatosa
 Per quell' amor che portasti ad
Adone
 E la mia voglia ch'è per te
 amorosa,
 Contenta etc. — — — —

45 :

Io non poria con parole *l'effetto*
 Del mio dolor mostrar quant' io
 lo sento,
 Tu sola lo conosci, ed al difetto
 Tu poi lieto donar contentamento

— — — — —
 — — — — —

46 :

Io non ti chieggio in *arme* aver
vettoria,
 Par li tempj di Marte d'armi
 ornare,
 In non ti chieggio di portarne
gloria
 Di que' doman, contra gli qua'
 provare
 Mi converrà, nè cerco che
 memoria
 Lontana duri del mio adoperare,
 Io cerco Emilia sola, etc.

— — — — —

47 :

Il modo trova tu, ch'io non mi
 curo,
 O che sia vinto, o che sia vinci-
 tore :
 Mi è poco caro, se non son sicuro
 Di possedere il disio del mio core.

— — — — —

48 :

Gli *tempj* tuoi saranno sempre
 orati
 Da me — — — — —
 — — — — —
 Ed ogni tuo *altar* farò lucente
 Di fuoco, e *sacrifizj* fien donati

— — — — —

1396 :

And if ye wol nat so, my lady
 sweete,
 Than pray I the, to morwe with
 a spere
 That Arcita me thurgh the herte
 bere.
 Than rekke I nat, whan I have
 lost my lyf,
 Though that Arcite have hir to
 his wyf.

49 :

E se t'è grave cio ch'io ti di-
 mando,
 Deh, fa che nel teatro qualche
 spada
 Tosto mi fenda, o pur il cor
 forando,
 Costringa che lo spirto fuor sen
 vada
 — — — — —
 Che non farebbe senza lei la vita,
 Veggendola, non mia, esser
 d'Arcita

In the lines following (1417—1500), Chaucer has decidedly shortened his original in the description of Emilia's prayer (*Teseida*, VII., 71—92). Thus he omits the incident that Emilia suddenly sees both the fires lighted (*Tes.*, st. 77). Further, he omits her request to the goddess to send her a token from which she might judge whether her prayer is granted, and represents this sign as happening unexpectedly. All these deviations are, in my opinion, based on Chaucer's intention to condense the profuse descriptions of the *Teseida*. It is also to be noticed that Chaucer transfers Emilia's apostrophe to the goddess (*Tes.* st. 80) to the end of the prayer, which I think a more skilful arrangement. Then he speaks of the sign; and after this, makes Diana appear to the praying virgin, whilst Boccaccio relates these facts in a different order, and introduces the "coro infaretrato" instead of the apparition of the goddess herself. But notwithstanding all these variations, our poet here follows his original more briefly than he generally does; and I again call the attention of the reader to the fact that words of Romance origin in both authors often correspond with one another:—

Knight's Tale, l. 1417 :

Hir maydens, that sche with hir
 thider ladde,
 Ful redily with hem the fyr they
 hadde,
 Thencens, the clothes and the
 remenant al
 That to the sacrifice longen schal;

Teseide XX, &c. 71 :

E le servente sue tutte chiamate
 Con corni pien d'offerte ragunare
 Le fe' davanti a sè, e disse:
 Andate,
 Fate i tempj di Diana mondare
 E li degni licori apparecchiate,

The hornes ful of meth, as is the gyse ;
 Ther lakketh nought to do here *sacrifise*.
 E l'altre cose da *sagrificare*.
 — — — — —

72 :

Smokyng the *temple*, ful of clothes faire,
 This Emelye with herte debonaire
 Hir body wessch with watir of a welle ;
 But how sche dide I ne dar nat telle
 Fu mondo il *tempio*, e di be' drappi ornato
 — — — — —
 E poi, in loco a poche manifesto,
 Di nobili licori il dilicato

— — — — —
 Corpo lavossi ; — — — — —
 — — — — —

1431 :

Hir brighte her was kempt, untressed al ;
 E i biondi crini da' veli iscoprissi.

74 :

A corone of a grene ok *cerial*
 Upon hir heed was set ful fair and meete.
 Two fyres on the *auter* gan she beete.
 E coronò di quercia *cereale*,
 — — — — —
 — — — e'l suo capo altretale
 — — — — —
 Sopra l'*altare* molto riverente
 Due roghe fece di simil grossezza . . .
 — — — — —

1437 :

Whan kynled was the fyre, with pitous cheere
 Unto Dyan sche spak, as ye may heere.
 Sopra gli accesi fuochi nell'aspetto
 A dire come appresso qui fie detto :

77 :

O *chaste* goddess of the woodes greene,
 To whom bothe heven and erth and see is seene,
 Queen of the *regne of Pluto* derk and lowe,
 Goddess of maydenes, — —
 O Dea, a cui la terra [il cielo, il mare]
 E i *regni di Pluton* son manifesti,

— — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — — —

79 :

As keep me fro the *vengans* of thilk *gre*,
 That Atheon boughte trewely :
 O *casta* Dea, de' boschi lustratrice,
 La qual ti fei a vergini servire,
 E se' delle tue *ire vengiatrice* ;
 Così come Atteon potè sentire
 — — — — —

¹ The following Italian lines Chaucer doubles up into :
 And did hir thinges, as men may biholde
 In Stace of Thebes *and the bokes olde*.

1449 :

I am yit, thou wost, of thi
company,
A mayden, and love huntynge
and venery,
And for to walken in the woodes
wylde,
And nought to ben a wyf, and
be with chylde.

— — — — —
— — — — —

1456 :

And Palamon, that hath such
love to me,
And eek Arcite, that loveth me
so sore,
This grace I praye the withouten
more,
And sende love and pees betwix
hem two ;

And fro me torne away here
hertes so,
That al here hoote love and here
desire,
Al here besy torment, and al
here fyre,
Be queymt, or turned in another
place.

And if so be thou wolt do me no
grace,
Or if my destyné be schapid so,
That I schal needes have on of
hem two,
So send me him that most
desireth me.

Knight's Tale, l. 1473, &c.

The fyres brenne upon the auter
cleer,
Whil Emelye was thus in hire
preyer.

1475 :

But sodeinly sche saugh a sighte
queynte,
For right anon on of the fyres
queynte,

81 :

Io sono ancora pur delle tue
schiere
Vergine, assai più atta alla
faretra,
Ed a boschi cercare, che a
piacere
Per amor a marito

— — — — —
— — — — —

82 :

— — — — —
— — — — — sì me affetta
L'uno e l'atro de' giovani ama-
dori
Di cui gioja d'amor ciascuno
aspetta
E di lor guerra tra lormetti pace ;

— — — — —

84 :

— — — — —
— — — faccia il loro affanno
Volgere in dolce pace, o in altra
cosa

— — — — —

85 :

E se gl'Iddii avesson pur dis-
posto
Con eterna parola che già sia
Da lor seguito ciò ch'hanno pro-
posto,
Fa che ne venga nelle braccia
mia
Colui al qual col vero più mi
accosto,
E che con più fermezza mi disia.

— — — — —

Teseide 88 :

Ardieno i fuochi mentre che
pregava

— — — — —

91 :

— — — — —
Più verso il fuoco le luci sospinse,

And quyked agayn, and after
that anon
That other fyr was queynt, and
al agon ;
And as it queynt, it made a
whistelyng,
As doth a wete brond in his
brennyng.

And at the brondes end out ran
anoon
As it were bloody dropes many
oon ;
For which so sore agast was
Emelye,
That she wel neih mad was, and
gan to crie,
For sche ne wiste what it signi-
fyede

1491 :
Among the goddes hye it is
affirmed,
And by eterne word write and
confermed,
Thou schalt be wedded unto oon
of tho,
That have for the so moche care
and wo ;
But unto which of hem may I
nat telle.
Farewel, for I may ber no lenger
dwelle.
The fyres which that on myn
auter brenne
Schuln the declare, or that thou
go henne,

Thyw adventure of love, and in
this caas'.
And with that word, the arwes
in the caas
Of the goddesse clatren faste
and rynge etc. etc.

Nè stette guari che l'una fu
spenta,
Poi per sè si raccese, e l'alta
tinse,
E tal divenne qual talor diventa
Quella del zolfo, le punte men-
ando
In qua e'n là già forte mormo-
rando.

92 :
E parean gli accesi tizzoni
Da' capi spenti, tutti gian ge-
mendo
Lagrima ta', che spegneano i
carboni :
Le quali cose Emilia pur veg-
gendo
Gli atti non prese nè le con-
dizioni
Debitamente del fuoco — —

89 :
Già è nel cielo tra gli Dii *fermato*
Che tu siasposa dell'un di costoro,
E Diana ne è lieta : ma celato
Poco ti fia qual debba esser di
loro,
Se ben da te il tempio fie mirato.
Ciò che avverrà, non fuor di
questo Coro
Osserva attenta, e in vèr *l'altar*
rimira
E vedrai che'l tuo core disira.

90 :
E questo detto, sonâr le saette
Della faretra di Diana bella
etc. etc.

After this we come to the prayer of Arcite, *Kn. Tale*, 1515—1560 = *Tes.* VII. 24—28, of which very little is to be said ; yet we may remark that it is a closer imitation than the preceding part, and that at some places the words coincide wonderfully.

Knight's Tale, l. 1515, &c.

O stronge God, that in the
reynes colde
Of Trace honoured and lord art
thou y-holde
— — — — —

1520 :

If so be that my youthe may
deserve
And that my might be worthi
for to serve
Thy godhed, that I may be on
of thine,
— — — — —
For thilke peyne and that hote
fuyre,
In which whilom thou bredest
for *desyre*,
Whan that thou *usedest* the gret
bewte
Of faire freissche Venus — —

1530 :

When *Vulcanus* hadde caught
the in his laas,
— — — — —

1533 :

Have reuthe as wel upon my
peynes smerte.
I am yong and unkonnyng, as
thou wost,
And, as I trowe, with love
offendid most,
— — — — —
— — — — —

1540 :

And wel I woot, or sche me
mercy heete,
I moot with strengthe wyn hir
in the place ;
And wel I wot, withouten help
or grace
Of the, ne may my strengthe
nought avayle.

Then help me, lord, to morn in
my batayle,
For thilke fyr that whilom brende
the,
As wel as this fire now brenneth
me ;
And do to morn that I have the
victorie.

Teseide VII. 24 :

[Forte Dio, che ne' regni nevosi
Bistonii servi le tue sacre case]
— — — — —

25 :

Se pur alcun valor nella mia
etade
E le mie forze meritan ched io
De' tuoi sia detto, per quella
pietade
Ch'ebbe Nettuno, allor che con
disio
Di Citerea *usavi la beltade*,
Rinchiuso da Vulcano — —
— —, umilmente ti prego
Che agli miei prieghi tu non
faccia niego.

26 :

Jo son, come tu vedi, giovinetto,
E per nuova bellezza, tanto
Amore
Sotto sua signoria mi tien dis-
tretto
Che le mie forze e tutto 'l mio
valore
Convien ch'io mostri, se pur vo'
diletto
Sentir di ciò che più disia il mio
core
E sanza te io son poco possente,
Anzi piuttosto io non posso
niente.

27 :

Dunque m'ajuta, per quel sommo
foco
Che te arse già, siccome me arde
ora,
— — — — —
— — — — —
S'io son di questa pugna vincitore

Myn be the travail, al thin be the glorie. Io il diletto, e tu n'abbia l'onore.

— — — — —

1552 :	28 :
And in thy <i>tempul</i> I wol my baner honge	I <i>tempj</i> tuoi eterni s'orneranno
And alle the <i>armes</i> of my <i>companye</i> ,	Dell' <i>armi</i> del mio vinto <i>compagnone</i>
And ever more, unto that day I dye,	Ed ancora le mie vi penderanno
<i>Eterne</i> fyr I wol bifore the fynde.	— — — — — <i>Eterni</i> fuochi sempre vi arderanno
And eek to this avow I wol me bynde :	E la barba e i miei crin, che <i>offensione</i>
My berd, myn heer that hangeth longe adoun,	Di ferro non sentirno, ti prometto
That never yit ne felt <i>offensioun</i>	Se mi fai vincitor, com'io t'ho detto. etc.
Of rasour ne of schere, I wol thee give. etc.	

In the following section of the *Knight's Tale*, Chaucer's description of the tournament is quite independent of that of Boccaccio. On such occasions our poet needs not the guiding hand of a predecessor; he is himself well skilled in all chivalrous matters, and likes now and then to go his own way.

The next passage of any length, literally borrowed from the *Teseida*, is the account of Arcite's death. *Kn. T.*, 1941-48 = *Tes.*, X. 111 :—

Knight's Tale, l. 1941, &c.	X. 111 :
For fro his herte up to his brest was come	La quale ¹ in ciascun membra era venuta
The cold of deth, that him hadde overcome.	Da' piedi in su venendo verso il petto,
And yet moreover in his armes two	Ed ancor nelle braccia era perduta
The <i>vital</i> strength is lost, and al agoo.	La <i>vital</i> forza ; sol nello <i>intelletto</i>
Only the <i>intellect</i> , withouten more,	E nel cuore era ancora sostenuta
That dwelled in his herte sik and sore	La poca vita, ma già sì ristretto
Gan fayle, when the herte felte death,	Eragli'l tristo cor del mortal gelo
Duskyng his eyghen two, and faylede breth.	Che agli occhi fe' subitamente velo.

¹ sc. la morte.

The following stanza of his original he condenses into two lines—and then comes the famous description of Arcite's soul going to heaven.

Troilus V. 260 :

And when that he was slayn in
this manere,
His lighte gost ful blisfully is
wente
Up to the holughness of the
seventhe spere
In convers letynge everych
elemente ;
And ther he saugh, with ful
avysemente,
The *erratyk sterres*, herkenynge
armonye,
With *sownes* ful of hevenysh
melodie.

261 :

And down from thennes he gan
avyse
This litel spot of erth, that with
these
Embraced is, and fully gan
despice
This wreched world, and helde
al vanyté,
To *respect* of the pleyne felicité
That is in hevene above ; and al
the laste,
Ther he was slayn his lokynge
down he caste.

262 :

And in hymself he lough right
at the wo
Of hem that wepten for his deth
so faste,
And *dampned* al our work that
folweth so
The blynde luste, the which that
may not laste,
And sholden al our herte on
hevene caste ;
And forth he wente, shortly for
to telle,
Ther as *Mercurie* sorted hym to
dwelle.

Teseide XI. 1 :

Finito Arcita colei nominando
La qual nel mondo più che altro
amava,
L'anima lieve se ne gí volando
Ver la concavità del cielo ottava
Degli *elementi* i connessi lasci-
ando
Quivi le *stelle erratiche* ammi-
rava
— — — — —
Suoni ascoltando pieni di dol-
cezza.

2 :

Quindi si volse in giù a rimirare
Le cose abbandonate, e vide il
poco
Globo terreno, a cui d'intorno il
mare
Girava — — — — —
Ed ogni cosa da nulla stimare
A *rispetto* del ciel ; e in fine al
loco
Là dove aveva il corpo suo
lasciato
Gli occhi fermò alquanto rivol-
tato.

3 :

E fece risa de' pianti dolenti
Della turba lerneia ; la vanitate
Forte *dannando* delle umane
genti,
Le qua' da tenebrosa cecitate
Mattamente oscurate nelle menti
Seguon del Mondo la falsa bel-
tate :
Lasciando il cielo, quindi se
ne gio
Nel loco a cui *Mercurio* la sortio.

If Chaucer had not used these stanzas in *Troilus and Cryseyde*, he would perhaps have here inserted a closer imitation : this seems to me the chief reason why he omits

them in the *Knight's Tale*, and only gives a hint of such an omission by a humorous allusion.¹

¹ [Mr Furnivall transfers to a note the following parts of my text on which I have laid some stress, p. 393. I here mean not only to refute Ten-Brink's supposition, but to show that Chaucer purposely lifted his stanzas into *Troilus and Cryseyde*; from which follows that he himself rejected the first cast of *Palamon and Arcite*.]

The strange supposition by which Prof. Ten-Brink, at p. 61 of his *Studien*, tries to explain the fact that these stanzas have got into *Troilus and Cryseyde*, appears to me to be quite without foundation.

The Professor has just shown that the aforesaid description was evidently not originally destined for the *Troilus*; but he has shown it with such emphasis that he runs a good deal beyond the mark. Thus, he says, speaking of stanza 262:

"And in hymself he lough right at the wo
Of them that wepten for hir deth so fast"

"Who are those people who wept? Where did he speak of them? Methinks, those lines require a statement of the fact, that somebody *did* weep for the death of Troilus, etc."

Now I ask, most humbly, if I am not quite intelligible and correct, when I say, for instance: "I speak to all those that have read the poems of Chaucer," although I have not previously stated the fact that the poems have been read, and who the readers were? And is not the *Troilus* case quite an analogous one? Is it not quite natural that the death of a hero is wept for, even though the fact is not specially mentioned, and the names of the weepers are not given? Who will find fault with the poet's saying: "The hero's soul above in heaven laught at the complaint of those who lamented his death?" "So fast" is the only suspicious expression; but it is not at all necessary to refer this "so" to some previous passage; it may be understood as a mere emphasising expression, such as "very, most," etc. Generally speaking, I admit that it is not a very judicious arrangement, when a poet, after having related his hero's ascension to the higher spheres, turns back again to a complaint of his death; but surely, such a mistake does not deserve the reproach with which Prof. Ten-Brink charges Chaucer. It is negligent, but not absurd; and I am convinced that everybody who reads this passage without knowing that its three stanzas originally belonged to another poem, will pass over them without stumbling or hesitation.

The reader will perhaps be astonished at my so much urging this rather trifling incident; but I lay some stress upon it because I want to prove that Chaucer himself transferred this passage from his first *Palamon and Arcite* into *Troilus and Cryseyde*. Prof. Ten-Brink is at a loss, as he avows (p. 61), to explain how these lines found their way into the latter poem. He suggests either that Chaucer himself put them on a leaf in this part of his manuscript, with the vague intention of inserting them some day, after a proper revision, into the *Troilus*; or that old Adam Scrivener is responsible for the deed. In my opinion, however, Chaucer never intended to change anything in these stanzas, but added them on purpose to *Troilus*

After the last quotation (*Knight's Tale*, 1941, etc.), the passages closely imitated by Chaucer from the *Teseida* become scarcer and scarcer. There are no longer coherent descriptions or speeches like those instanced above; but although remarkable sections are scattered through all the rest of the poem, we shall find some stanzas of the *Teseida* nearly literally reproduced in the *Canterbury Tales*:—

Knight's Tale, l. 1995, &c.	Teseide XI. 13:
Duk Theseus with al his busy <i>cure</i> , Cast busyly wher that the <i>sepulture</i> Of good Arcyte may best y- maked be — — — — —	Quinci Teseo con sollecita <i>cura</i> Cose ricerca per solenne onore Fare ad Arcita nella <i>sepoltura</i> . Nè da ciò il trasse angoscia nè dolore, Ma pensò, che nel bosco u' la rancura

and *Cryseyde*, just as they were. For the conclusion of the *Filostrato* is too hasty. In two lines, X. 49. 7. 8, Boccaccio relates the death of Troilus, and then immediately ends with the stanza which Chaucer has translated in his stanza, ll. 1872-78. Our poet felt this want; and remembering that passage in his *Palamon and Arcite* as just the thing to enlarge the abrupt conclusion of his original with, he inserted it here without deeming it necessary to make any alteration in it. If our modern taste requires some modification in the stanzas, we must not forget that Chaucer is really sometimes a little careless about such things. Prof. Ten-Brink, indeed, refutes those examples which Herr Hertzberg, in Ebert's *Jahrbuch*, VIII. 162, brings forward to show our poet's looseness in this respect, by reminding us that the *Canterbury Tales* were left unfinished, and that the poet had most likely intended to revise them, when death brought his work to an unexpected end. But besides these apparent negligences, Herr Hertzberg calls our attention to line 891 (according to Tyrwhitt's edition) of the *Knight's Tale*, ll. 15530 and 15546 of the *Second Nun's Tale*; l. 12942 of the *Shipman's Tale*, etc., there are some other instances which can not so easily be put aside. I mean those contradictions in the *Knight's Tale*, ll. 1137, 1153, etc., and in the *Parlament of Foules*, l. 277, of which I have just spoken on p. 370, etc. above. The former poem did undergo a thorough revision before it was inserted among the *Canterbury Tales*; the latter does not belong to this collection at all, so that Prof. Ten-Brink's explanation cannot be applied to either. If Chaucer has overlooked some contradictions in the above quoted places, it would be no crime to accuse him of some other carelessnesses. This is not intended as a severe reproach; it is only one proof more that slight slips are made, even by great men. After this discussion, I think we may conclude that no other man than Chaucer himself lifted those three stanzas from his *Palamon and Arcite* into his *Troilus and Cryseyde*, and that we have not the least right to charge poor Adam Scrivener with a new sin against his patron.

2002 :
 That in the selve grove, soote
 and greene,
 Ther as he hadde his amorous
 desires,
 His compleynt, and for love his
 hoot fyres,
 He wolde make a fyr, in which
thoffice
Funeral he might hem al accom-
plice.

Spiegò sovente, che gli dava
 amore,
 Faria comporre il rogo, dentro
 al quale
L'ufizio si compiesse funerale.

Other passages borrowed from the Italian poem are :
Kn. T. 1970-71 = *Tes.* XI. 7 ; *Kn. T.* 1979, etc. = *Tes.*
 XI. 9 (first line) and XI. 10 (The Complaint for Arcite) ;
Kn. T. 1985 = XII. 6. (Chaucer has attributed these
 words to Egeus, whilst in the *Teseida* they are ascribed to
 Theseus.) Further, *Kn. T.* 2012-22 = *Tes.* XI, 15, 16
 (Preparations for the funeral) ; *Kn. T.* 2047, etc. = *Tes.*
 XI. 40, 2094, etc. = XI. 53 (The funeral), 2118, etc. =
 XII. 4, 2123 = XII. 5, 2159, etc. = XII. 7 (Speech of
 Theseus).

Knight's Tale, l. 1970, &c.
 So gret a wepyng was ther noon
 certayn,
 Whan Ector was i-brought, al
 freissh i-slayn.

Teseide XI. 7 :
 Non di Priamo tal pianto fér le
 nuore,
 La moglie e le figliuole, allor
 che morto
 Fu lor recato il comperato Ettore.

1979 :
 No man mighte glade Theseus
 — — — — — Egeus

XI. 9 :
 Nun potea racconsolar Teseo.

That knew this worldes trans-
 mutacioun
 As he hadde seen it torne up and
 doun,
 Ioye after woo, and woe aftir
 gladnesse :
 And schewed him *ensample* —

XL. 10 :
 Ma come savio ed uom che
 conoscea
 I mondan casi e le cose avvenute,
 Siccome quel che assai veduto
 avea
 Il dolor dentro istrinse con virtute
 Per dare *esempio* — — —

1985 :
 "Right as ther deyde never man,
 quod he,
 That he ne lyvèd in erthe in som
 degree,
 Yit ther ne lyvede never man,"
 he seyde,

XII. 6 :
 Siccome alcuno che giammai
 non visse,
 Non morì mai, così si può vedere
 Che alcun non visse mai che
 non morisse

In al this world, that som tyme
he ne deyde.

— — — — —

2012 :

And after this, Theseus hath i-
sent
After a beer, and it al over-
spradde
With cloth of golde, the richest
that the hadde.
And of the same sute he clad
Arcyte ;

— — — — —

Eke on his heed a coroune of
laurer grene ;

— — — — —

2021. 2022 :

And for the poeple schulde see
him alle,
Whan it was day he brought
hem to the halle.

— — — — —

— — — — —

Knight's Tale, l. 2047, &c.

Upon the right hond wente olde
Egeus,
And on that other syde duk
Theseus,
With vessels in here hand of
gold wel fyn,¹
As ful of hony, mylk and blood,
and wyn ;
Eke Palamon, with a gret com-
panye ;
And after that com woful Emelye,
With fyr in hond, as was that
time the gyse.

2094 :

Thre tymes ryden al the fyr
aboute
Upon the lefte hond, with an
heih schoutyng,
And thries with here speres
clateryng . . .

XI. 15 :

E fece poi un feretro venire
Reale a sè davanti ; e tosto fello
D'un drappo a oro bellissimo
fornire,
E similimente ancor fece di
quello
Il morto Arcita tutto rivestire,
E poi il fece a giacer porre in
ello
Incoronato di frondo d'alloro . . .

— — — — —

XI. 16 :

E poichè fu d'ogni parte lucente
Il nuovo giorno, egli 'l fece
portare
Nella gran corte, ove tutta la
gente,
Come volea, il poteva riguar-
dare . . .

Teseide XL. 40 :

Là venne Palemone, al quale
Egeo
Dolente andava dal suo destro
lato.
E dal sinistro gli venne Teseo
Dagli altri Regi poi tutta fasci-
ato :
Fmilia poi appresso si video
Col più debole sesso sconsolato
A compagnia : ed essa in mano
il foco
Feral recava al doloroso loco.

XI. 53 :

Ed a sinistra man correndo in giro
Tre volte il rogo tutto inforniaro
— — — — —
— — — — e risonaro
Le lance — — — — —

¹ These two lines are imitated from the beginning of the 37th stanza :

Gli più nobili Achivi i vasi cari
Di mel, di sangue e di latte novello
Pieni portavan — — — — —

Knight's Tale, l. 2118, &c.

For which this noble Theseus
anon
Let senden after gentil Palamon,
Unwist of him what was the
cause and why;
But in his blake clothes sorw-
fully
He cam — — — — —

2123 :

Whan they were sette, and
hussht was al the place
And Theseus abyden hadde a
space
Or eny word cam fro his wyse
brest
— — — — —
And with a sad visage he sykede
stille,
And after that right thus he
seide his wille.

2159 :

Lo the ook, that hath so *longe*
norisschyng
Fro tyme that it gynneth first to
springe,
And hath so long a lyf, as we
may see,
Yet atte laste wasted is the tree.
Considereth eek, how that the
harde stoon
Under oure foot, on which we
trede and goon,
Yit avasteth it, as it lyth by the
weye.
The brode ryver some tyme
wexeth dreye.

Teseide XII. 4 :

Perchè tosto chiamato Palemone
Con molti di que' Re accom-
pagnato,
Non sappiend 'esso però la
cagione
Di ner vestito — — — —

XII. 5 :

E quivi poi com ogni uomo
tacente
Si fu posto a sedere, Teseo istette
Per lungo *spazio* senza dir niente :
— — — — —
— — — — —
Dentro tenendo le lagrime strette
Ch'agli occhi per pietà volean
venire,
Così parlando incominciò egli a
dire :

XII. 7 :

Le quercie ch'han sì *lungo nutri-*
mento
E tanta vita quanta noi vedemo,
Hanno pure alcun tempo fini-
mento :
Le dure pietre ancor che noi
calchemo,
Per accidenti varii, mancamento
Ancora avere, aperto lo sapemo ;
E fiumi pieni esser talor seccati
Veggiamo — — — —

In this enumeration I have passed over several places which Mr H. Ward points out as being translations from Boccaccio. For the resemblances between them and the original are often so slight or so commonplace, that it is not at all necessary to look upon them as borrowed from the Italian. As for instance :

Knight's Tale, l. 977 :

Ye woot yourself, sche may not
wedde two

Teseide V. 95. 7 :

Ma non la più di voi aver
ciascuno : etc.

Other resemblances are accidental, as when Chaucer is obliged to choose nearly the same words as his original in order to narrate the same circumstances; as for instance:

Knight's Tale, l. 356, &c.	Teseide III. 54 :
And he were caught, it was acorded thus,	S'i'ce lo prendo gli farò tagliare
That with a swerd he scholde lese his heed.	La testa senza fallo immante- nente.

In other places the apparent similarities are only reproductions in a general sense, as for instance: ll. 2173-74 = *Tes.* XII. 10, where Chaucer gives in two lines a kind of summary of a whole stanza of his model. A few passages, however, seem indeed from the originality of thought, directly taken from the *Teseida*, or rather from our poet's first version of *Palamon and Arcite*. Such are:

Knight's Tale, l. 810, &c.	Teseide V. 77 :
Yet some tyme it schal falle upon a day	Ma come noi veggiam venire in ora
That falleth nought eft in a thousand yeere . . .	Cosa che in mill'anni non avviene . . .

Knight's Tale, l. 1648, &c.	Teseide VII. 97 :
Ther fomen steedes, on the golden bridel	Quivi destrier grandissimi vediensi
Gnawyng — — — — —	Co selle ricche di argento e di oro
	E gli spumanti lor freni rodi- ensi . . .

l. 1656 :	<i>Ib.</i> 98 :
Heer thre, ther ten, haldyng her questioun	— — — — —
Dyvynyng of this Thebans knightes two.	Tra gli quattro e gli sei quivi adunati
	Tra lor mostrando diverse ragioni Di qual credevan degli inna- morati . . .

l. 1703 :	<i>Ib.</i> 14 :
The voice of the <i>poepul touchith</i> heven,	De' nobili e del <i>popolo</i> il romore
So lowde criede they with mery steven :	<i>Toccò</i> le stelle, si fu alto e forte ;
God save such a lord that is so good,	Gl' Iddii dicendo salvi tal signore
He wilneth no destruccioun of blood !	Che tra gli amanti fugge la ria morte
— — — — —	— — — — —

l. 2183 :	<i>Ib.</i> XII. 11 :
Than is it wisdom, as thenketh me,	E però far della <i>necessitate</i>
To maken <i>vertu</i> of <i>necessite</i> .	<i>Virtù</i> quando bisogna, è sapienza.

Now casting a look back on the whole of those passages which I have pointed out as bearing the character of translations from the *Teseida*, we shall see that they are not gratuitously chosen by Chaucer for insertion into his own production. On the contrary, it seems evident to me that the Tale itself is an entirely free adaptation from the Italian poem. Chaucer omits and adds, *ad libitum*, just as he himself thinks fittest to his own taste, and consequently to that of his countrymen; he also shortens where he holds it necessary so to do, in order to make his poem suitable for forming a part of his *Canterbury Tales*. For these reasons the tenor of the whole and many of the minor circumstances have been altered,¹—but where the quick course of the narrative is checked, i. e. where our poet has to write a description, or make a reflection, he often has recourse to his original, and borrows from it such passages as relate to antiquity, or contain well-set speeches, &c.

Now, as I endeavoured to show before, there are two of those descriptions which were not directly taken from the *Teseida*, nor do they agree with the present tenor of the *Knight's Tale*: I mean, the passages on the temple of Mars and on that of Diana, both of which have the striking peculiarity of being told in the first person of the verb, which never occurs again in our poem, except where the Knight really speaks in his own person. A few lines more are pointed out by Prof. Ten-Brink as not belonging to the *Teseida*, but which have parallels in the opening stanzas of *Quene Anelida*. These are ll. 14—16 (according to Dr Morris's edition) = st. 7 of the latter poem. All

¹ Whether the *Knight's Tale* has gained or lost by this treatment, I shall not discuss here. An æsthetical judgment has nothing to do with the present enquiries.

these passages most likely once formed part of the early *Palamon and Arcite*, as we have seen above. And assuming that Chaucer in a few instances re-wrote his *Knight's Tale*, after its first English version, is it not the most natural conclusion that he in the other cases made use of his own book, instead of here and there translating a few words from the *Teseida*? This supposition gains more and more ground when we try to form an idea as to how Chaucer treated his old version. Surely, it was not always before him, but he must rather have written his *Knight's Tale* from memory. When, however, he remembered some fine description or some other striking passage, he fetched his *Palamon and Arcite* manuscript from the shelf, and inserted such portions more literally, modifying them according to the heroic verse, of course, which could easily be transferred into the later form of his poem.

But there is another proof to support this supposition. Comparing all those passages marked by Mr H. Ward, and compared by me with the corresponding sections in the *Teseida*, we shall see that almost every time Chaucer has imitated the beginning of a stanza, he has left out the middle, and reproduced the end. The proportion of the stanzas, the beginnings of which are adapted, to those where they are neglected, is 5 to 1. This mode of treating his original quite agrees with the poem of *Troilus and Cryseyde*, which Mr Rossetti has closely compared, in the Society's publications, with Boccaccio's *Filostrato*. The seven-line stanza of Chaucer does not allow him to follow his model step by step, and so he is obliged, from regard to rhythm and metre, to omit a line or two, and he generally does this in the middle of his stanzas. This fact we learn from *Troilus and Cryseyde*; and considering that, as Prof. Ten-Brink has shown, *Palamon and Arcite* was originally written in that metre, it becomes more and more likely that in all those cases where closer imitations of the Italian occur, we have to deal with modified remnants of

the first version of the *Palamon*. For, if Chaucer had translated directly from the *Teseida*, he would perhaps have much more frequently neglected the beginning of the single stanzas. But looking into his old version, he reproduced his former translation as far as the rhyme and the new style of his tale allowed.

I repeat as the results of my investigations. 1. That the description of the temple of Venus in the *Parlament of Foules* is (except the last lines) an *unmodified* fragment of the first version of *Palamon and Arcite*. 2. That Chaucer himself most likely inserted the stanzas about Arcite's going to heaven into his *Troilus and Cryseyde* (see note i, p. 385, etc.). 3. That those passages in the *Knight's Tale*, which prove to be close imitations of the *Teseida*, are not taken directly from the *Teseida*, but most probably from Chaucer's first version, his *Palamon and Arcite*, and may be considered as modified fragments of it.

One objection might be made against the above conclusions, which I must refute before going on with my researches. "Is it not possible," somebody may ask, "that Chaucer did not translate the whole of the *Teseida* before he resolved to adapt this poem for his *Canterbury Tales*, but that he selected single passages in order to insert them into his later poetical productions?" First of all, the great number of passages, modified or in their original shape, from the beginning, the middle, and the end of the *Teseida*, allow little doubt of his having finished his first version of *Palamon and Arcite*. Further, some expressions occurring in these passages,—as for instance, in the often-mentioned description of the temple of Mars inserted into *Troilus and Cryseyde*,—show that they were originally not destined for the places now assigned to them. And, finally, Chaucer himself, enumerating his works in the Prologue of his *Legende of Good Women*, says, l. 720:

“And al the love of Palamon and Arcite,”—which line leaves no doubt that he is speaking of a poem that he had really brought to an end. Having thus stated that he did actually finish a first version of *Palamon and Arcite*, the assumption that he took parts from it, and these the most successful ones, in order to transfer them to other poems, is, to say the least of it, highly improbable. I don't think a poet would rob one of his compositions of some of its beauties, in order to adorn another with them, so long as he hoped for success with the first poem. In my opinion, therefore, Chaucer did not do so before he rejected his first version of *Palamon and Arcite*. Prof. Ten-Brink and others ascribe the fact that this poem is entirely lost to us, to its having been distasteful to the English public; and they think that our poet was therefore compelled to withdraw it. But considering the want of judgment of the general public, and even of the court, in those times, when no critical paper led the public taste, when the most preposterous chivalrous romances, the most drily written Lives of Saints, were very much admired, it would be astonishing, nay impossible, that a poem like the *Teseida*, englisht by Chaucer, should be rejected in that way. For this poetical work does not differ so much from those then in vogue as to account for such neglect. Its intrinsic value alone places it on a higher level than the average romances of the day, and its scenery, its costumes and habits, half-ancient, half-modern, its romantic love and fierce combat,—all these things are quite the same in the *Teseida* as in many of the favourite poetical works of that period. It differs from them chiefly in its more elaborate style, its more skilful arrangement, and more refined sentiments. But these deviations from the general tenor of the romances are scarcely sufficient to account for general unpopularity. I believe rather that the cause of the withdrawal of the first version, was Chaucer's growing intellect, and ripening taste for more realistic representation.

Let us cast a glance on the course of his life and mental development. As we know, he spent his youth at the court of the Countess of Ulster, wife of King Edw. III's son Lionel, took part in campaigns against France, and was appointed valet to the King in, or before, 1367. Thus he received the education of a young nobleman, and was surely among those Esquires who were obliged to sing before the court, and to "talk of Chronicles of kings," etc. (Cf. *Edward II.'s Household book*, p. xiii.) About this time he undertook the translation of the *Roman de la Rose*, the fashionable work of the day, and after this he published the *Dethe of Blaunche*, or *Boke of the Duchesse*, in which two poems he appears as an imitator of the French taste, which then reigned over all the civilised world: here satirical, there amorous, but both without any depth of sentiment. After this he is the bearer of an official message to Italy; and from this time a new Period of his writings is to be dated. Influenced by the new direction taken by Italian poets, who began to introduce rules and laws, according to the ancients, into the shapeless mass of mediæval poetry, Chaucer saw the emptiness and flatness of his French models, and he adopted a more pathetic and serious style of composition. In this style he writes the *Life of Saint Cecily*, and translates the *Teseida*, the first epic poem of Boccaccio, in which he for the first time¹ employs a metre imitated from the Italians. But his innate humour and fun did not allow him long to follow this new ideal. The contrast between those pathetic love-stories and his own material stand-point, shows itself for the first time in *Troilus and Cryseyde*; but notwithstanding some success in comical description, he cannot yet rise to free humour: his hesitancy between irony and pathos destroys every harmony. But the *House of Fame* overcomes this difficulty; it shows our poet's wonderful genius in its new splendour; fun and earnest

¹ I hold that he did it first in the *Pity*.—F. J. F.

alternate most skilfully: his true humour is born. This success, however, might have been evanescent, had not the *Canterbury Tales* secured Chaucer's immortality.

In this short sketch, in which I have, for reasons which I shall explain later, passed over some works of our poet, I follow Prof. Ten-Brink, in placing the first version of *Palamon and Arcite* between the *Life of St Cecily* and *Troilus*. Taking this for granted, it naturally follows that the poem should show the character of this period, i. e. it must have borne the stamp of the fresh influence of the Italians, still unchecked by the new humour emanating from *Troilus and Cryseyde*. Consulting the fragments of the *Palamon and Arcite* still extant, we shall find that they are all reproductions of the original, in a pathetic style, with no trace of satire and joke in them. But supposing, that in other parts of the older *Palamon and Arcite* some humour existed, and that the whole of it consequently resembled our present version, the *Knight's Tale*, for what reason did Chaucer reject the former; or why did the public—if we really must regard it—refuse its favour to a poem, which was afterwards, so far as we can judge, highly appreciated? I should think it very superfluous labour to change the metre or the ryme of a poetical work for the sake of the metre or the ryme alone. For if Chaucer had liked to shorten it here and there, he might have done so by omitting a certain number of stanzas, and altering a few lines before and after, without taking the trouble of changing the ryme throughout the whole of the poem. Further, there is no trace whatever, of a first version in any of the manuscripts preserved to us. This circumstance shows that the original *Palamon and Arcite* was but little circulated, or not circulated at all. And why? Most likely, because Chaucer himself did not think his poem fit for publicity. It never could have been so bad that a general dislike was able to suppress it entirely. Even weaker productions of favourite poets,—

and Chaucer undoubtedly was a pet at court—would never have met with such disdain as to be silenced for ever.

Chaucer seems to corroborate this conclusion by his own words in the above-mentioned passage of the Prologue of the *Legende of Good Women*: he alleges himself to be the author of

—“al the love of Palamon and Arcite
Of Thebes, *though the storye ys knowen lyte.*”

The whole passage runs briefly, as follows: “Cupid accuses Chaucer of having refused the respect due to him, but he is defended by the companion of the god, the lady to whom the poet has devoted his love. She says: ‘Thou art too severe, O Lord; for often he has glorified thy name in his songs, and shown by them the right way to many a miscreant. To do this most praiseworthy work, he wrote *The House of Fame*, etc. etc., and *Palamon and Arcite*:—*but this story, alas, is known too little!*’”

Prof. Ten-Brink wishes to refer these words (p. 64, l. c.) to a passage in a letter of Boccaccio to Fiammetta, where he says, speaking of the *Teseida*, “that the source of this poem is not generally known.” This reference may indeed be admitted, but in my opinion it was not intended by Chaucer. For, there is no testimony to confirm the supposition that our poet ever saw this letter, or a copy of it. Further, if the source of the original was little known to the public, its imitation could scarcely have been in the same predicament. Finally, the context proves that those words (“the story is knowen lite”) are only meant to be an excuse for the poet standing before Cupid’s severe tribunal. His fair advocate says by them,—as I understand:—“This poor mortal has endeavoured to show thy omnipotence in his book of *Palamon and Arcite*, yet thou dost not know it, and so thou chargest him with unjust reproach,” etc. Another poem, no longer extant, receives a similar comment in the aforesaid list: l. 428,

“He made also, *goon is a grete while,*
Origenes upon the Maudeleyne.”

This "it is long ago" seems to express a kind of disregard or contempt, which a man sometimes shows towards his first attempts in poetry; and inasmuch as this book, so similar to *Palamon and Arcite*, has entirely disappeared, we may find a certain hint in this "goon a grete whyle," that its author did not care much for the work, and had, perhaps, as in the case of the above translation, destroyed the *Origenes* himself in his riper age. Well, this is a mere hypothesis; but it is not improbable that the words "goon is a grete while," are meant to be an excuse similar to "thogh the storie is knowen lyte."

From all these considerations, it appears that the first version, the *Palamon and Arcite*, must have been very different from the present one, the *Knight's Tale*; and it is very likely that it was built more entirely on the *Teseida*. So Tyrwhitt's ingenious conjecture seems to be newly corroborated by my researches; he says, l. c. p. 213: "It is not impossible that at first it was a mere translation of the *Teseida* of Boccace, and that its present form was given it, when Chaucer determined to assign it the first place among his *Canterbury Tales*."

One objection against this judgment seems to lie in Prof. Ten-Brink's proof (ll. 1—62), that Chaucer had already in his first version,—except in the first stanzas,—omitted the first book of the *Teseida*. And another objection may perhaps be founded on what I have said before about the temple of Diana. But, as every student knows, Chaucer, although in the beginning of his literary career not much better than a skilful translator, never thought of submitting himself slavishly to his original. These deviations from Boccaccio, therefore, do not at all preclude the idea that the former edition of our poem was a much closer imitation than the present one; the chief point is: that the tenor and representation of the whole showed the same pathos as the *Teseida*. And therefore it is not probable that fun and humour had already appeared

in this work. This character of the poet would correspond very well with the general character of the period in which it must have been written : it belongs to that epoch when Chaucer's humour had not yet manifested itself : it was a fine composition in the modern sense of French classicism, pathetic, but never interrupted in its regular current, by jocose incident or witty remark. So Chaucer—we may conclude—was little pleased with his work ; he put it aside, feeling that he could do something higher, but without any distinct sense of the future effectiveness of his comic talent. Old Pandarus in *Troilus and Cryseyde*, gave him the first opportunity for developing this side of his genius ; and after this successful budding, his humour unfolds itself into the most splendid bloom of the Middle Ages.

Palamon and Arcite, although set aside for a time, was certainly never quite forgotten. Most likely, Chaucer always intended to do something with the poem, and adapt it, by some alteration or another, to his riper taste. But before he determined what to do with it, he made use of some of its passages, which could be easily separated from the story, and inserted them into other poems composed after this translation. So he put into *Troilus and Cryseyde* the stanzas on Arcite's soul going to heaven ; and into the *Parlament of Foules*, the description of the garden and temple of Venus.

By this assertion, which I have already several times made, I oppose Prof. Ten-Brink's opinion on page 128 of his book : "If Chaucer had finished his first version of the *Teseida* before the *Parlament of Foules*, what would have prevented him from more closely imitating (in the latter) that passage (on Venus's temple, etc.) of which he seems to have been very fond ? The termination of *Palamon and Arcite* must consequently be of a later date than the *Parlament of Foules*." Well, I have shown that Chaucer did imitate it as closely as he possibly could ; and so the

conclusion contained in the above quotation is to be rejected. If then the *Parlament of Foules* is to be taken as a later production than the first edition of *Palamon and Arcite*, a question naturally rises as to the date of the composition of that poem.

II.

THE DATE AND PERSONAGES OF THE *PARLAMENT OF FOULES*.

Considering first its intrinsic qualities, we find in the *Parlament* a wealth of genius and humour, harmonious representation, fine and noble language, evidence of wide reading, a riper idea of love, than in any of Chaucer's earlier works. The last quality shows itself in the point of the piece: Not idle protestations of love, but the inclination and free choice of the lady courted, must decide the contest for her. These premisses are acknowledged more or less by all the critics; thus Mr Furnivall in his *Trial Forewords*, says, p. 56: "The *Parlament* is Chaucer's first real poem; in it his humour and fun first¹ appear, and his love of Nature is much developept." And yet it is spoken of as a juvenile production by Prof. Kissner in his Dissertation, p. 72; and Prof. Ten-Brink, by dating it 1373, classes it in like manner. For although Chaucer was then past 30, the development of his genius must then be considered as still imperfect, still striving after some higher end.

When we compare the characteristics of the *Parlament of Foules* with those of *Troilus and Creseyde*, the former poem manifests an author of far greater skill than that of the latter work, which, in spite of many successful passages of tenderness, of imagery, of the depths of lovers' woes, does display want of aptitude, a disharmony between

¹ Mr Furnivall then dated the *Parlament* after the *Troilus*. He now gladly accepts my later date, as removing the contradiction he had always felt between the power, closeness, and humour of the poem, and the weaker, looser, and less humorous *Mars* and *Troilus*, beautiful though the latter is.

pathos and humour, a looseness of structure, a want of grasp and self-restraint,¹ a feeling that the poet is often run away with by his materials, a conviction that he has not attained complete mastery of his work. Is it likely that Chaucer, after having overcome the contrast between realism and sentimentality in the *Parlament of Foules*, should have again fallen back into a vain struggle between the two in his next production? That would contradict all experience of development of character.

But my doubt of the accuracy of the date generally accepted for this poem is still more confirmed by the words of the author himself. Among those personages who are represented in the temple of Venus as types of amorous passion, we find (l. 291) *Troilus*. As the line in which this name occurs does not belong to the original fragment of *Palamon and Arcite*, as I have before tried to show, p. 369, it must have been added when Chaucer inserted this passage into the *Parlament*, and so it would prove that the latter poem was composed after the translation of Boccaccio's *Filostrato*. But there is a serious objection to this assumption. "Is it not possible," some one might suggest, "that Chaucer made the acquaintance of Troilus in Benoît de St More's Book of Troy?" Indeed, it is possible, if the proofs that Chaucer knew this poem sufficiently were strong enough. But, admitting this, is it not as possible that he had only been introduced to Benoît when he was translating the *Filostrato*? And we must further consider that Troilus is too much in the background of Benoît's *Trojan War* to suggest the idea of a prominent sufferer for love's sake. As Mr Rossetti (p. vi, in his publication for the Chaucer Society) remarks, Diomed, not Troilus, appears as the chief hero of this affair. Benoît does not mention Troilus's affection towards Briseis, before the scene in which this young lady, being sent to the camp of the Greeks, takes leave of him.

¹ Compare the digressions on free-will, etc., etc.

From these considerations it follows that Chaucer could scarcely have taken the name of Troilus from any other source than Boccaccio's *Filostrato*; and that he had at least read this poem when he wrote the *Parlament of Foules*. But if we look at the last stanza of this latter work :

“And with the showtyng whan hir song was do,
That the foules made at her flyght away,
I woke and other bookes toke me to
To rede upon : and yet I rede alway.
I hope ywyse to rede so somme day
That I shal mete sommethyng for to fare
The bet, and thus to rede I wol not spare . . .”

we see that Chaucer was searching for a new subject to work on. If, however, he knew the *Filostrato* well enough to borrow from it the character of Troilus for his *Parlament*, and if he is, at the close of that poem, uncertain what to begin next, the most natural conclusion is, that he had not only read Boccaccio's poem, but had even finished the translation of it when he was writing the *Parlament of Foules*.

But there are further reasons. In the stanza above-quoted, Chaucer speaks of his love for study ; and he does the same in the *House of Fame* (II, 144, etc.) ; which poem, according to Prof. Ten-Brink's most ingenious investigation, must have appeared soon after the *Troilus and Cryseyde*. The chief points of the Professor's arguments (p. 114, etc.) are : “In the Vth. book, st. 257, of the *Troilus*, Chaucer calls the work he is just going to conclude a ‘little tragedy,’ and he expresses a wish to write a comedy too (both these terms, tragedy and comedy, being based on Dante's well known theory). Now the *House of Fame*, when compared with *Troilus and Cryseyde* as a tragedy, has quite the character of a comedy. Hence it follows that,—if the 2 poems lie close together, as the best critics admit they do—the *Fame* must have been written after the *Troilus* ; otherwise Chaucer would here have expressed, at the end of the latter poem, a wish which was

already fulfilled! Further, in *Troilus and Cressida* Chaucer announces his intention of composing a poem to praise and do homage to good women. This intention appears again much more clearly in the first book of the *House of Fame*, in which he dwells upon the virtue of Dido as a contrast to that of Cryseyde, and enumerates several men who have betrayed their faithful mistresses. Thus he gives a kind of programme of the *Legende of Good Women*, and refers his reader to the sources he used for this poem. The Prologue, to judge from the dedication of its second cast to Queen Anne of Bohemia,¹ cannot have been written before 1382, the *House of Fame* not later than 1384, because Chaucer complains in it of the burden of his Controller's office, of which he was not relieved till Feb. 17, 1385, when he was allowed to appoint a permanent deputy to perform the duties of his chief office. Therefore the Prologue to the *Legende of Good Women* must have originated between 1382 and -85; the *House of Fame* between 1381 and -84."

So far Prof. Ten-Brink. Now, confronting the *Parlament of Foules* with the *House of Fame*, we shall see that in both poems Chaucer shows quite evidently that he has not only read the authors he quotes, but that he has studied them carefully,² (I call the reader's attention to "Galoxye," *Parl. of F.* l. 56), whilst in his earlier productions he gives his originals' names, in order, as it seems, to cite some authority for his story or proverbial sentence. Also Prof. Ten-Brink finds, p. 129, a remarkable resemblance between the *Parlament* and the *House of Fame*; and their intrinsic qualities place them in the same period of Chaucer's poetical productiveness. Supposing the *House of Fame* to be the "comedy" our poet wished to

¹ The first cast in MS. Gg 4. 27, Camb. Univ. Lib., does not mention her: see Mr Furnivall's *Odd Texts of Chaucer's Minor Poems*, Pt. I, 1871, p. 56-7.

² A reference like this to Scipio Africanus implies thorough knowledge of his *Somnium*.

write, the *Parlament of Foules* would be a prelude of it, a kind of preparation for it. "I hope," he says, "I shal mete somethyng for to fare the bet." Though he has finished this little *Parlament*, and has enriched it with fine descriptions and lively humour, he is not fully satisfied; he is longing to prove his abilities in some greater work, one more worthy of his pains. He reads in order to find new thoughts, new motives, but he will no longer rest content with the praise of being a skilful translator or adapter; he feels within himself a poet's power.

Does it seem likely that he would have expressed in those general terms his wish to write a better work, when he was just translating the *Teseida*, as Prof. Ten-Brink assumes, or when he had already begun his *Troilus* and his *Boethius*? I should rather think that the *Parlament of Foules* was composed after all these works. It is either the last production of a former, or the first production of a new period; it forms a kind of transition from *Troilus and Cryseyde* to the *House of Fame*. In it we again meet all the fictions which occupied Chaucer's thoughts in his foregoing writings. The whole is in the form of a vision, which idea was chiefly suggested to him in his originals by the *Somnium Scipionis*. He parodies some passages of Dante's immortal *Commedia*; but he does not ridicule them; he smiles at this new vagary of his jolly humour. He brings in again his old friends, Boccaccio, Alain, Jehan de Meung, and Machault, from whom he learnt a good deal of his art. And over the whole he sheds the genial light of his wonderful humour, newly risen and yet in full glow: the poem is a poetical miniature, in which—notwithstanding the mixture of all those different elements—a genius grown up to independency manifests itself.

Hitherto I have neglected a feature of the *Parlament of Foules* which all commentators on our poet have seen in it. Ten-Brink says on this point (p. 129): "Undoubtedly the *Parlament of Foules* represents the wooing of a person of

high rank, crossed, as it seems, by rivals and by impediments of other kinds." He therefore calls it an "occasional poem." But in this case we must separate from the above name the meaning of a "dedication," which is generally connected with it. For, considering that the answer of the lady courted is still wanting, and consulting the last stanza mentioned above, the concluding words of which would have been no compliment to the dedicatee, we must deny any relation of this sort. Still, it remains highly probable that the poem had a certain reference to a marriage in the circle of the English court.

Several suggestions¹ have been made to explain this matter, but all without success. Tyrwhitt thought of John of Gaunt; but, as Prof. Ten-Brink shows, the *Parlament of Foules* must, from its many connections with Italian poets and poetry, have been written after the year 1372, when Chaucer first went to Italy and had become acquainted with its language² and literature; and as the marriage of John took place as early as 1359, this hypothesis is no longer admissible.

Mr Furnivall, after a long refutation, in his *Trial Forewords*, of the claims of Ingelram de Coucy to be the poem's hero, avows: "Heroine and hero of the *Parlament of Foules* are still to seek." But in what direction have we to look for light in this darkness? Certainly our poem alludes to a marriage in the royal family: but what marriage can be meant?

Well, if the date I have adopted for this poem (A.D. 1381) is acknowledged as the right one, there will be little difficulty in discovering a certain courtship as its centre. But we must first take a chronological retrospect. Except

¹ The latest is Mr Fleay's, of the corpse of the infant princess Mary of France! Mr Fleay dates the *Parlament* 1378, and makes its heroine the Princess Mary (*Guide to Chaucer and Spenser*, p. 38), not having taken the trouble to ascertain that she died, aged 7, in 1377.—F. J. F.

² Was he not sent there for the very reason that he knew the language before he was sent?—F. J. F.

as to the *Parlament*, I follow strictly Prof. Ten-Brink, and fix the dates for the works of the so-called Second Period thus: 1373, *Lyfe of seynt Cecile*; about 1374-76, *Palamon and Arcite*; 1376-80, Chaucer's numerous travels to the continent, each interrupt his poetical productiveness, so that he is unable to write more than his translation of *Boethius*, and perhaps the first four books of *Troilus and Cryseyde*. In 1380, he devotes himself entirely to study, so far as the duties of his office allow, and writes the last book of *Troilus*, which towards its end indicates that a new epoch in Chaucer's development is attained. 1381. Immediately after it, he writes the *Parlament of Foules*; and not much later, perhaps even before 1382, the *House of Fame*.

So I have reached—and methinks quite naturally—the year 1381 as the date for the *Parlament*. And in this year King Richard of England¹ sent his ambassadors to Germany to woo Anne of Bohemia for him.

¹ In 1381 he was the only marriageable member of the royal family of England, which alone Chaucer was likely to write a poem about. Prince LIONEL, Duke of Clarence, having been twice married (1352 and 1368), died in 1368. In 1372 (Anderson's 1371 (? Old Style), Barnes, *Hist. of Edw. III*, p. 824), JOHN of Gaunt married his 2nd wife, the elder daughter, Constance, and his younger brother, EDMUND of Langley, Earl of Cambridge, (Duke of York in 1383), married the younger daughter, Isabella, of Pedro the Cruel, late King of Castille and Leon. (Edmund's first treaty of marriage with Margaret of Flanders in 1364, was thrown up in 1369.) THOMAS of Woodstock, Earl of Buckingham (and Duke of Gloucester in 1385) married in or about 1374 (48 Edw. III, see Dugdale's *Baronage*, vol. i (1676), p. 169), a minor, and ward of the King's (whose son she would not have been allowed to refuse), Eleanora, daughter of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Northampton, who attained her full age in 3 Rich. II.—June 1379 to June 1380.—(EDWARD the Black Prince, who married Joan of Kent, died in 1376. WILLIAM of Hatfield, Edw. III's 2nd son, died in 1336. WILLIAM of Windsor died young.) The Princess ISABELLA, Edw. III's eldest daughter, married the young Lord Ingelram de Guisnes (or Courcy, afterwards Earl of Bedford) in 1365. Edward's 2nd daughter, JOANNA (Blanch died young), was contracted to Pedro the Cruel, afterwards King of Castille, but died of the plague at Bourdeaux in 1349, before being married. The 3rd daughter, MARY, married John de Mountfort, Duke of Britany, in 1361. And the 4th, MARGARET, married John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, in 1359. Philippa, the daughter of Prince Lionel, was born on Aug. 16, 1355, and was thus 13 at her father's death in 1368, "about which time"

Froissart,¹ in his Chronicle, tells us that Sir Simon Burley was sent by King Richard to the Emperour Wenceslas of Bohemia for this purpose, because all his subjects wished that their lord should soon conclude a marriage worthy of an English king. Pelzel in his Life of Wenceslas² I, 101, writes as follows: "About this time (January, 1381) had arrived plenipotentiaries from King Richard of England, who were dispatched the year before, on the 26th of December, from London. These ambassadors were commissioned to ask Princess Anna, the sister of King Wetzel, to be the spouse of their lord, the king (Rich. II.). The proposal was accepted so much more willingly, as the *match with the house of Misnia, that Anna was engaged to, had been broken off on account of Mayence, and as Princess Anna had already reached the age to choose herself a husband* Princess Anna, therefore, appointed three plenipotentiaries, to whom she gave full power to conclude a marriage between her and King Richard, etc."

In the same book, p. 108, Pelzel says that: "In August, 1381, these ambassadors had arrived in England." And at p. 110, he relates that *Anna was engaged as early as 1371 to a Prince of Bavaria; and in 1373, when she was seven years of age, to a margrave of Misnia*—as already mentioned in the above quotation.

the king gave her in marriage to Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March (Sandford's *Royal Genealogies*). Of Princess Isabella's children, Mary, born in April 1366, married Henry de Barr in 1383 (? : Mrs Green misprints 1303), and died in 1404. Philippa, born in 1367, was betrothed in 1371 to Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, and the "marriage was effected in 2 Ric. II," June 1379 to June 1380 (Collins's *House of De Vere*). Their 5 children were, 1. *Roger*, Earl of March, born 1374 (married Eleonora, daughter of Thomas Earl of Kent, in (?), and died 1398); 2. *Sir Edmond* married a natural daughter of Owen Glendower in (?); 3. *Sir John* (died 1424); 4. *Elizabeth*, born at Usk in 1371, married Henry Hotspur, Lord Percy; 5. *Philippa*, who had 3 husbands, John, Earl of Arundel; Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, and John, Lord St John.—Anderson, p. 743, 744; Betham, Table, 606, 607.—F. J. F.

¹ Sir John Froissart's Chronicles translated by Thomas Johnes, 1804, II, 542.

² Lebensgeschichte des römischen und böhmischen Königs Wenzeslaus . . . von Franz Martin Pelzel.

Now the italic passages above correspond wonderfully with the leading circumstances of Chaucer's *Parlament*: in King Richard and the two German princes we may recognise three Eagles wooing the formel; and the advice of Dame Nature:

v. 620: "... this ys my conclusoun—
That she hir selfe shal have hir eleccioun
Of whom hir lyste ..."

and the wish of the formel:

v. 648: "I aske
. to have my choys al fre . . ."

seem to allude to the fact that Anne had now become of age.¹ Considering at the same time that Chaucer was in such close relation to the royal family; that he, in his *Legende of Good Women*, praises this same Anne of Bohemia as the noblest and most virtuous of her sex;² and that he dedicates his *Legende* to her; the more likely it will appear to us that he expresses in the *Parlament* his wish for the happy success of his king's courtship, and his sympathy for the future wife of his lord. We may well suppose that he wrote the *Parlament of Foules* on St Valentine's day, 1381, on which day the session of the birds is said to have taken place. For about this time the result of the embassy to King Wenceslas must have been still unknown in England, and people most likely had not a very clear notion as to the state of affairs in Germany. By accepting this opinion, Chaucer's deviations from the real situation of matters will easily be explained. For, in fact, the Prince of Bavaria was no longer a competitor with King Richard, since his match had already been broken off for years. Further, Chaucer speaks of a year's delay wished for by the courted lady. This seems a mere fiction³—for if he wrote the *Parlament of Foules* on or

¹ That is, I suppose, 14. She was 15.

² I assume that she, and not Chaucer's own mistress, is the Lady praised in the Prologue.

³ Yet Froissart's words give it some countenance. He says in Johnes's translation, II, 681: "Chapter LXXXVI. The Emperor

about St Valentine's day (which, I think, is the most likely assumption), he could scarcely have learnt the answer of the Bohemian princess so early, considering that the ambassadors arrived at her court only at the end of January. Finally it is to be noticed that a poetical work does not pretend to be a chronicle. The situation and general circumstances of this courtship gave Chaucer the idea for this poem: he wrote it as a kind of prophecy, not as a historical song. He who is not contented to look at the beauties of a poetical work from a distance, but intrudes sacrilegiously into its interior, will always be disappointed.

Thus, in spite of these digressions from reality, I believe that King Richard's courtship alone can be alluded to in the *Parlament of Foules*.

III.

"QUENE ANELIDA AND THE FALSE ARCITE."

I hope I shall not exhaust the reader's patience by adding a few observations on other doubtful points concerning our poet.

First about the presumptive date of *Quene Anelida and the False Arcite*. This poem has also received some stanzas of the first version of *Palamon and Arcite*, as we, following the arguments of Prof. Ten-Brink, have already seen. This writer then states—and I think so that no doubt can remain—that this work is to be reckoned among the latest productions of Chaucer; but I cannot agree with him in his determination of its exact date.

Wincellaus sends his sister Anne to King Richard of England, who makes her his Queen.—You have heard how king Richard of England had *for upwards of a year* been in treaty with Wincellaus king of Bohemia, who at this period had taken the title of emperor of Rome, to obtain his sister the lady Anne in marriage; and how one of his knights, sir Simon Burley, had much laboured in this business; and also that the duke of Saxony had been in England to confirm the marriage." "She was married to the king in the chapel of the palace of Westminster, the twentieth day after Christmas," Jan. 14, 1382.—F. J. F.

He says in his "*Studien*," p. 56: "When Chaucer had turned his first version of *Palamon and Arcite* into another metre, and thereby into another form, for the *Canterbury Tales*, the thought rose in him to versify the story of *Anelida and Arcite*, to put it into relation to some elements of the story of *Palamon and Arcite*, and to make use of the opening stanzas of the previous version, which he withdrew from further circulation, for this new work The continuation of the new work, however, soon came to a standstill, and was not publisht before Chaucer's death as a fragment." But as I have tried to show before, that Chaucer had rejected the first version of *Palamon and Arcite* on his own account, because it no longer agreed with his riper taste, and that he afterwards from time to time inserted some of its pieces into other poems, my judgment on the date of *Quene Anelida* must take a different turn.

Quene Anelida and the False Arcite is a fragment, in fact, and it is hardly possible to draw any certain conclusions from it. But Chaucer, it seems to me, had intended to remould his *Palamon and Arcite* in this poem, perhaps by reversing its motive. Instead of depicting, as in the original, the passion of *two* men for *one* lady, he meant to represent *two* ladies in love with *one* knight. This new story would then have been conceived in the same sense and with the same view as the *Legende of Good Women*: he intended in it to represent, how ill, true love is often requited by men. Therefore both poems would belong to the same period, 1382-5. And for accessories of his new subject he had intended to use the descriptive pieces of *Palamon and Arcite* which were still at his disposal. I come to this conclusion from the beginning of the poem, and from its last stanza now extant, to the bearing of which I believe I am the first to call the reader's attention. Chaucer, after having related the complaint of the unlucky queen, says:

" sythe she gan to ryse
 And unto Mars avoweth sacrifysse
 Within the temple, with a sorouful chere,
 That schapen was, as ye may plainly here."

Here, I think, he at first meant to add the description of Mars's temple from *Palamon and Arcite*; and if he had done so, we should have received another unmodified fragment of the first version. He broke off here, probably because his sad fate towards the end of the eighth decennary—after 1386—about which time this fragment might have been written, deprived him of every delight in poetical productiveness. But he did not continue his work when his situation improved, because meanwhile the plan for the *Canterbury Tales* had occupied his mind, and he now found a better use for the *Teseida*. Taking into consideration the concluding stanza, quoted above, I believe my suggestion is better founded than that of Prof. Ten-Brink. [The *Anelida* is surely before 1385; and before 1382, I think.]—F. J. F.

IV.

a. ON CHAUCER'S USE OF "LOLLIUS," AND NON-USE OF BOCCACCIO'S NAME.

b. CHAUCER AND BOCCACCIO'S *DECAMERONE*.

Another much discussed question is: "Why does Chaucer always quote other names instead of Boccaccio's?" The explanations Prof. Ten-Brink and others give, are scarcely sufficient to account for the so-called caprice of Chaucer, according to which he constantly conceals the true name of the poet to whom he is most indebted for the subjects of his own poems. He, indeed, in a few instances quotes wrong sources, as Herr Hertzberg (p. 42, note 67, of his *Canterbury Geschichten*) shows: Lucan (*C. T.* 4820, 14, 637), Livius (*ib.* 11935), Suetonius (14, 383), Livius again in the *Legende of Good Women*, l. 1629, instead of Ovid, *Fast.* III, 75, etc.; (*Gesta Rom.* in *C. T.* 5546

and 6225 are uncertain), and several times Ptolemais' *Almagest*. But he quotes rightly: Statius, *Thebais* XII, 519, etc., in *Q. Anelida*, l. 21. Juvenalis X, 22 in *C. T.* 6773; Cicero *Divin.* II, 27 in *C. T.* 14990. Macrobius, *Somn. Scip. ib.* 15130, Seneca *de Ira* I, 14 and 16, *ib.* 7625, 7600; Claudian *Rapt. Pros.* II, *ib.* 10106; Virgil's *Aeneis*, *ib.* 15,365; Ovidii *Metam. ib.* 4513; Cato *Dist.* II, 32, *ib.* 14946; the *Maccabees*, *ib.* 14574; Dante, *ib.* 14771, Petrarch in several other places; further quotations from the Fathers are pointed out by Tyrwhitt, etc. From this list we see at once that the right quotations overbalance the erroneous ones; and though Chaucer, by chance or by mistake, now and then appears to show indifference on this point, we have no right to impute capricious intention to him. The more striking, therefore, is the circumstance that he always avoids naming Boccaccio. We have, however, no foundation for supposing that he wished to set himself up as the inventor of the stories he borrowed from the Italian poet. On the contrary, Chaucer, like every other author in the Middle Ages, holds it necessary to quote, as much as possible, authorities for his tales, in order to show that they are not idle inventions or forgeries.

To think of a personal animosity of Chaucer against Boccaccio, is still less admissible, because nowhere does the least hint of such a feeling occur. The only explanation, therefore, is, to assume that Chaucer, though he knew that Boccaccio wrote poems, did not know his name, or that of the author of the MSS. he, Chaucer, had bought.

Every one who has worked at Middle-Age MSS. must have noticed that the pieces in them are often anonymous; sometimes they usurp a wrong name, sometimes the indications are so indefinite and incorrect that we are at a loss to decide who is meant by them. Many MSS. contain different writings by different authors, of different periods and in different languages, copied by different

hands. Instances are abundant. Thus we can imagine that when Chaucer bought in Italy the *Divina Commedia*, or the Sonnets of Petrarch, he found in the same MS. pieces by an author unknown to him, or rather pieces without a title and without the name of their author: the *Teseida*, the *Filostrato*, and *De claris Mulieribus*. Now it would be absurd to assert that Chaucer had never heard Boccaccio praised; but it is not impossible that he only heard his name mentioned in Italy, without having the opportunity of seeing his works with his name and under their right title. About the time our poet was staying there, Boccaccio had retired to Certaldo, where he lived in seclusion, occupied with his Latin writings, until he was again called to Florence in 1373, when Chaucer may have left this town. So the Italian friends of our poet did not speak so much of Boccaccio, as of Dante and Petrarch; and Chaucer had so much to do with reading and studying the works of these two men, that he was unable to make, besides, acquaintance with the former one. At Chaucer's second visit to Italy in 1378, Boccaccio was dead.

All that I have said on this point may seem little more than guess-work; but if we consider the insignificant and uncertain knowledge of literature, in Chaucer's time, and the entire want of criticism, my suggestion will not appear too hazardous. Similarly Chaucer's adoption of "Lollius" can be explained; for, as I remarked above, the MSS. often give wrong names of authors; and so our poet might have found, somewhere among his specimens, the notice: "Hic incipit Lollius¹," or something of the kind; and thinking it to be the genuine name, employed it afterwards in his quotations. To introduce Horace here, as Dr Latham and Prof. Ten-Brink have done, seems rather a doubtful thing to do, because, so far as I know, there is no further sign that Chaucer had really read Horace.

¹ A suggestion of Mr H. Ward, if I remember rightly.

That he in other places also cites Statius, Petrarch, and Corinne, instead of Boccaccio, is not difficult to account for. For, as to the former, we know that he really did make use of him in the beginning of *Quene Anelida*; and since Chaucer is not very careful as to his quotations, he cited Statius too where he in fact borrowed from another source, particularly as Statius has a certain relation to the subject treated. The same is to be said about his having employed Petrarch's name in the *Monk's Tale*. As to Corrine, in *Quene Anelida*, st. 3, he may have chosen this name merely for the sake of the ryme.

At any rate, there is no necessity for explaining Chaucer's having passed over Boccaccio's name in silence, by supposing a strange, unaccountable caprice on his part.

b. Finally, a word about the question: "Did Chaucer take his plan for the *Canterbury Tales* from Boccaccio's *Decamerone*? The common opinion is that he did so; for it is alleged that Chaucer knew and made use of several other works of Boccaccio; and the arrangement and style of the *Decamerone* bear some resemblance to the English pilgrim's tales. But here I wish to make a grave objection: If Chaucer had derived his plot from this source, would he not most likely have translated some of its racy *novelle* instead of inserting former tales of his own into his book? Some of the tales, indeed, do resemble certain stories in the *Decamerone*. They are not, however, borrowed directly from it, but have a common source in old French Fabliaux. Names and localities, therefore, differ. Yet if Chaucer had taken the stories, or any one of them, from Boccaccio's book, he would most likely have imitated his original much more closely, as he did in all the other cases where his sources have been clearly made out. If he had known the *Decamerone*, would he not have inserted at least *one* of its stories, more exactly translated, into his *Canterbury Tales*?

In all his numerous productions, however, there is no

distinct trace whatever that he was really acquainted with the *Decamerone*; there is only a slight resemblance in the general plan. M. Sandras, in his *Etude sur Chaucer*, p. 135, suggests the *Disciplina Clericalis* or *The Seven Sages* as sources from which our poet might have taken his idea of connecting a series of stories. But I do not know of a single instance which proves that Chaucer made use of either of these works. My opinion therefore is, that the plot of the *Canterbury Tales* emanated from our poet himself. Why are we to believe that Chaucer was incapable of originating such an idea?—he, the founder of the new English metrical and rhythmical art, the creator of a standard English language, the father of humour, the greatest genius of his country in the Middle Ages?¹

APPENDIX.

THE DATE OF THE CANTERBURY JOURNEY DETERMINED FROM THE MAN OF LAW'S AND PARSON'S PROLOGUES.

As I learn that the investigations made by Herr Hertzberg and Professor Scherk to discover the presumptive date of the Canterbury Journey are little known to the English Chaucer student, I feel sure he will be glad to see a translation of this highly interesting argument, which we in Germany accept as establishing the date of the journey in the year 1393, five years later than the 1388 in which Englishmen believe. Herr Hertzberg, at p. 666 of his *Canterbury-Geschichten*, when commenting on the

¹ See too how, as a friend says, Chaucer's early poems, with their Proem and Story, work naturally up, through the *Legende* with its Prologue and collection of Stories, to the *Canterbury Tales*, with their famous Prologue and collection of Tales, so many of the latter, too, like the *Legende's*, of the woes of women, loving and betrayd. The hint also of the gathering of representatives of all English classes into one company may, if needed, have come to him from English ground, as Prof. Seeley suggests (Chaucer Society's Report, 1873, p. 7), for it is in the opening of his great contemporary, William's, Vision of the Ploughman, Christ.—F. J. F.

Parson's Prologue, or Blank-Parson Link, states first, that Chaucer is always to be relied upon when fixing the time of events by astronomical constellations, and that we have not, therefore, the least reason to doubt the exactness of his observation. Prof. Scherk, he continues, says as follows: "The 28th of April of the old style (the date given in the Man of Law's Prologue, ll. 5, 6) corresponds, at the end of the 14th century, with the 6th of May of the new style. Suppose the vernal equinox to have taken place on the 21st of March, 46 days will have elapsed by May the 6th, in which interval the sun has accomplished a journey of $46 \cdot (0^\circ, 98565) = 45^\circ, 34$, and is in $15^\circ, 34$ of the sign of the Bull. Suppose the moon to be in the middle of the sign of the Balance,¹ consequently 150° distant from the sun. Let the sun have travelled, since the last new moon, over the arc x ; then the moon has passed through $150^\circ + x$; and as the mean daily motion of the moon is $13^\circ, 1764$, the ratio is $150^\circ + x : x = 13.17640 : 0.98565$; whence it follows that $x = 12^\circ, 1$. Thus the moon, since the new moon has accomplished $162^\circ, 1$, for which distance it uses 12, 3 days; consequently the new moon set in on the $28-12=16$ th of April of the old style = 24th of April of the new style. The uncertainty of this result is about ± 1 day, of which the chief cause is, that the moon may stand either at the point of entering or leaving the sign of the Balance, which it passes through in $2\frac{1}{4}$ days.

In the year 1864 the new moon fell on the 6th of April, consequently 18 days earlier. Trying now at first, if the year of the event in question be 1400, we do not find, for the period from the 24th of April, 1400, till the 6th of April, 1864, a full number of synodical months, but there is a difference of about 11 days. This induces us to go back 7 years, because in them there is a yearly

¹ Therwith the mones exaltation,
In mene Libra, alway gan ascende.

Persones Prologue, ll. 10, 11, ed. Tyrwhitt.

rest of 11 days. Thus, with those surplus 11 days, we have in the whole 88 days, which is about equal to 3 synodical months. Indeed, we shall find now that the 471 years from 1393 to 1864,—the length of the tropical year being according to Bessel (Schumacher's *Astronom. Nachrichten*, 1828, N. 133), 365 d. 5 h. 48' 47,"9 = 365 d. 24221,—contain 172029.08 days. From these, counting from the new moon on the 6th of April, 1864, the above-mentioned 18 days are to be deducted. The remainder is 172011.08 days, which,—as the length of the synodical month is 29 days, 12 hours, 44', 2", 87 = 29 d. 53,—are equal to 5828 synodical months, the surplus of $\frac{117}{2953}$ month = $1\frac{1}{6}$ day, lying between the limits of uncertainty of the moon's place. Consequently the event in question took place on the 28th of April, 1393."

[The above argument depends upon the false assumption that Chaucer, in his *Man of Law's Tale*, mentions the 28th of April. But this date is a mere miswriting of the scribe of the Ellesmere MS.¹, who has expanded the xvij of the five other MSS. in the *Six-Text* into "eight and twentithe" instead of "eightetene." Mr Brae has shewn that the latter day is right; and, indeed, any one can see, after a very hasty consideration, that, in choosing between 18 and 28, we need not hesitate a moment. Chaucer tells us that the sun had just run a half-course in the Ram. This half-course was completed on the 11th of April. The sun next began a half-course in the Bull, lasting from the 12th to the 27th. On the 27th, this half-course was done, and a second half-course in the Bull begun; so that the reading "ramme" becomes meaningless. As the assumed date (28th) is plainly wrong, the arguments founded upon it crumble to pieces. See Mr Brae's edition of Chaucer's *Astrolabe*, to which add my own notes.

WALTER W. SKEAT.]

¹ Some few other MSS. have the same mistake.

PALAMON AND ERSYTE.

A fragment from MS. D. 4. 18, No. 7, Trin. Coll., Dublin (? of Hen. VI's time). (Printed before by Dr David Laing, in *Reliquiæ Antiquæ* (1843), ii. 11, and now recollated with the MS. by Prof. Atkinson of Trin. Coll., Dublin.)

Palamon.

This Palamon in his bed lay,
And herd Emlyn syng so dowcetly,
þat unto his brother he gan say,
“þere¹ is my love and my lady?”

Emlyn.

Goyng merely in a garden grene,
Singyng herself, this lady bright,
She ravissed bothe the hertes, I wene,
Of Palamon and his brother Ersyte.

Palamon.

“Syr Palamon, it is my name;
And for this lady I bere gret blame,
In preson stronge, Emlyn I chese,
Unto my love and my maystres.”

Emlyne.

O thou Emlyne, thi fayrenes
Brought Palamon and Ersyte in gret distresse,
In a garden whan thou didist syng
So fresshely in a May mornyng.

Ersyte.

“I, Ersyte, with my brother lay,
Palamon, whan he chese this may:
I had, or he, of her a sighte;
þerfore I chalenge hir be² righte.” (ends.)

Were, *Reliq. Ant.* ² wrongly ‘to’, in *Reliq. Ant.*

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